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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XI

MILLARD FILLMORE PAPERS

VOLUME TWO

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1907

MILLARD FILLMORE.

From a Photograph Late in Life, Owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

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VOLUME TWO

EDITED BY

FRANK H. SEVERANCE

SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:

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NOTES, VOLUME TWO

AT the risk of unduly loading these pages, it is desirable to supplement the data contained in the Introduction, volume one, with a few further notes chiefly relative to matters touched on in volume two.

The present volume opens with Mr. Fillmore's speeches in the campaign of 1856, when he was the candidate of the American party as President. It will be borne in mind that he was also the candidate of the National Whig convention at Baltimore, Sept. 17-18; but this tardy endorsal gave him no appreciable advantage. In his letter accepting the Whig nomination (II., pp. 366, 367) Mr. Fillmore apparently confuses his dates.

It was charged by his political adversaries in this campaign, with the air of forever condemning him in the regard of good citizens, that Mr. Fillmore submitted to an initiation in a Know-nothing lodge, lending himself to a great deal of tomfoolery. Nothing worthy of acceptance on this point has been found by the editor. Certainly nothing less in keeping with Mr. Fillmore's character could be conceived. He did, however, receive a formal endorsal by the Order of United Americans, which in some sections appears to have developed elaborate secret features of ritual and lodge-work. Mr. Fillmore's acceptance of this source of support—absurdly feeble as the outcome showed—will be found at page 361 of the present volume.

Mr. Fillmore's views at a later period are readily gathered from his own utterances. On June 1, 1860, the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* announced that it was "authorized and requested" by Mr. Fillmore to deny a current report that "he had openly declared that he will support the Chicago nominations" of Lincoln and Hamlin. "So far as we know Mr. Fillmore's sentiments," adds the *Commercial,* "they remain the same as they were in 1856. He deprecates all sectional parties as dangerous to the welfare and peace of the country. In that category he includes the Republican party. We do not. If he has any preferences we doubt not that they are directly for Bell and Everett."

In regard to Mr. Fillmore's remarks to the Senate, on preserving order, April 3, 1850 (I., pp. 289-295), a further word is needed. It is true that "certain disorderly tendencies were checked," but it is not true that they ceased. Just two weeks after the Vice-President made his plea for decency, Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi made his famous spectacular attack on Thomas H. Benton, when the latter, tearing aside his shirt-bosom, turned his bared breast to the assailant and cried, "Let the assassin shoot!" Foote appears to have been quite ready to turn the melodrama into tragedy, but was stopped by the rush of many senators, rather than by the impotent appeal of Mr. Fillmore that the gentlemen should resume their seats and maintain order. It was beyond question one of the most trying episodes in Mr. Fillmore's career. An investigation was ordered, but before the committee reported (July 30) Mr. Fillmore had passed to the Presidency.[1]

That Mr. Fillmore had a pleasant acquaintance with Washington Irving is intimated by his letter of Feb. 26, 1854, to John P. Kennedy, in which he expresses the hope that Mr. Irving may accompany them on the proposed Southern tour. Irving was on intimate terms with Mr. Kennedy—President Fillmore's last Secretary of the Navy—and with his family, whose home in Baltimore was for many years a social and literary center of distinction. Spending the last days of Mr. Fillmore's Administration there and in Washington, Mr. Irving made numerous allusions in his letters to the President. February 25, 1853, he wrote from Washington:

"I went down, yesterday, in the steamer Vixen, with a large party, to visit the caloric ship Ericsson. In our party were the two Presidents (Fillmore and Pierce), all the Cabinet, and many other official characters. . . . This evening I have been at the last reception of President Fillmore. It was an immense crowd, for the public seemed eager to give him a demonstration, at parting, of their hearty good-will."

Some weeks later (Apr. 4, 1853), writing to his friend Robert C. Winthrop of Boston, Mr. Irving said:

"You have no doubt been shocked, like myself, at the sad bereavement which has afflicted the worthy Fillmore family. I almost think poor Mrs. Fillmore must have received her death-warrant while standing by my side on the marble terrace of the Capitol, exposed to chilly wind and snow, listening to the inaugural speech of her husband's successor. This sad event, as you perceive, has put an end to the Southern tour, which did not seem to meet your approbation, and has left Kennedy to the quiet of his home and his library, which I should think he would relish after the turmoil of Washington."

---

1. On the Foote-Benton affair, *see Cong. Globe*, 31st Cong., 1st sess.

The Southern tour, as the reader knows, was postponed until the following year. Then, although Mr. Kennedy urged Mr. Irving to join the party. the jaunt had little attraction for the aged author. "I have no inclination," he wrote with characteristic pleasantry, "to travel with political notorieties, to be smothered by the clouds of party dust whirled up by their chariot-wheels, and beset by the speech-makers and little great men and bores of every community who might consider Mr. Fillmore a candidate for another presidential term." To Mrs. Kennedy he wrote (Feb. 21, 1854): "Heaven preserve me from any tour of the kind! . . . To have to listen to the speeches that would be made, at dinners and other occasions, to Mr. Fillmore and himself [Mr. Kennedy]; and to the speeches that Mr. Fillmore and he would make in return! . . . I would as lief go campaigning with Hudibras or Don Quixote."

To Mrs. Kennedy Mr. Irving could write with all the playfulness of a fond father. His allusion to Mrs. Fillmore, above quoted, was very likely a true surmise as to the origin of her fatal illness.

Mr. Fillmore was much criticized for his participation in the Southern Commercial Convention of 1869, over which he presided. He was beyond doubt absolutely free from political aspirations in connection therewith. One outcome of this convention, which may be assumed as of advantage to our country, was the work of a commission, appointed by Mr. Fillmore, which visited the great Russian fairs at St. Petersburg and Novgorod, and also the chief commercial cities of Europe, for the purpose of attracting immigration, and capital, to the South and West.

In view of the local character of the series in which these Fillmore Papers appear, it has been deemed desirable to make note of as many matters of local consequence, with which Mr. Fillmore was connected, as were worthy of record. One matter, merely touched on, was an early educational movement. Mr. Fillmore was one of a number of residents of Buffalo who, in July, 1831, signed a circular calling on the citizens of the county to see that their towns were represented at a meeting to be held in September, when it was proposed to organize the Erie County School Association, as auxiliary to the New York State Lyceum. One of the original circulars, preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society, sets forth the purposes of the association, and contains also an offer from the Buffalo Literary and Scientific Academy, Theodotus Burwell, principal, of free tuition to young men fitting themselves for teachers.

At I. Fillmore, p. 51, a note gives the history of the old town of Erie, now Newstead. It may be added, on the authority of Crisfield

Johnson (History of Erie County, p. 394), that the new name was chosen by Mrs. Fillmore, who chanced at the time to be reading Byron, and suggested the name of his ancestral home, "Newstead Abbey." Mr. Johnson records sundry anecdotes of Mr. Fillmore; one of which, telling how he was accustomed to sit "of a summer evening, in the midst of a group of villagers, smoking his pipe" (p. 388), is squarely contradicted by Mr. Fillmore's own statement, "I never smoked or chewed tobacco." (I., Int. p. xxxvi.)

Mr. Fillmore was an honorary member of several historical societies, those of Massachusetts and Maryland among others. The records of the Buffalo society contain many minutes, resolutions, etc., written in his hand. These, although of value in the society's records, lack public interest, and are omitted from our collection. One resolution written by Mr. Fillmore, on the death of Edward Everett, his former Secretary of State, Jan. 15, 1865, may be here included:

> *Resolved,* That the sudden death of the Hon. Edward Everett is a national misfortune which we deeply deplore. In him were most happily blended all the qualities and accomplishments that adorn human nature—the clear intellect; the learned scholar; the sagacious diplomatist; the eloquent orator; the profound statesman, and above all the honest man, devoted patriot and humble Christian, forming a character equally beloved and admired, the memory of which will be cherished by every American citizen.

That Mr. Fillmore took a genuine interest in things historical, is attested by the thoroughness with which he examined available maps and documents, to learn if possible the origin of the name of Buffalo. (*See* in this volume, pp. 72-77, 421-425.) Genealogy did not attract him. Several of his letters indicate an absence of curiosity regarding his own ancestry which has been, perhaps still is, a widely characteristic American trait. While he had none of the pride which seeks distinction from the reputation of remote forebears, he had a very warm attachment for the living men and women of his family, no matter how humble their station. On account of the connection of his ancestry with Norwich, Conn., but especially that he might greet living relatives, both near and remote, he attended the bi-centennial celebration in that town, Sept. 7 to 9, 1859, and rode in a procession, but does not appear to have made any address on that occasion.

His connection with many Buffalo institutions has been sufficiently indicated. One not heretofore noted, was the Buffalo Orphan Asylum, to which he bequeathed $1000—the only bequest to a public institution in his will.

Soon after his death, agitation was begun by his friends for the erection of a worthy memorial. One proposition was to rename

Delaware avenue—Buffalo's finest residence street—for him. Later a new parkway was given his name.

Mr. Fillmore's first residence in Buffalo was in the old Phoenix hotel. The house most associated with him, described in 1853 as "the plain white two-story house with green blinds, and a little yard in front," is still standing at No. 180 Franklin street, though so modernized that its street front has little resemblance to the house Mr. Fillmore knew. The gothic house on Niagara Square, now a part of a hotel bearing another name, was bought by Mr. Fillmore after his retirement from public life; and there it was he died.

Not many years since the suggestion of a local newspaper that a statue of Mr. Fillmore be erected in the square opposite his former home precipitated an acrimonious correspondence which well showed that his townsmen were by no means ready to join in a memorial. Although numerous portraits and busts have been made, Buffalo is still without any suitable memorial of Millard Fillmore.

Mr. Fillmore gathered a considerable property, most of which passed to his son. When the latter died, Nov. 15, 1889, the inventory of his estate showed a value of $285,705.66, and contained the following items: Railroad bonds and other securities, $174,590; cash, bank deposits, bond and mortgage, $58,910.74; silver plate, $318.99; library, $1493.40. The silver plate may have included the memorial service spoken of in this volume (pp. 304, 305). There were also "a sword, a sabre, two guns and a pistol," presumably relics, in part at least, of the John Fillmore whose adventures with pirates have been given. These souvenirs are supposed to have passed into the possession of other relatives.

Many a resident of Buffalo will recall the auction sale of Mr. Fillmore's library, held in Buffalo, Dec. 29, 30 and 31, 1890. Since his father's death it had belonged to Millard Powers Fillmore, but the collection remained for the most part as the elder man had formed it. It was in no wise a notable library. There were few books of monetary value, and fewer yet that were rare. It contained many Government reports, and other works valuable only for the information they might offer. The printed catalogue, of fifty odd pages, is pathetic in its arid lack of poetry, of *belles lettres,* of well nigh everything that breathes of beauty and of spirit. A touch of personal association attaches to one item, the "Voyages and Adventures of Captain Robert Boyle" (Liverpool, 1745), containing a note by Mr. Fillmore, saying it was the first novel he ever read. A number of Mr. Fillmore's books are now in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Mr. Fillmore's letters, like those of other Presidents, are frequently offered for sale by dealers in literary wares. Such a letter, recently advertised, was written by Mr. Fillmore at Buffalo, Aug. 15, 1856, to Robert G. Rankin, in which occurs this sentence: "I have no recollection of ever having seen the Treaty between Russia and China to which you refer." Another letter not long since sold was dated Mar. 27, 1851, and addressed to the Secretary of State: "I shall be happy to receive Mr. Osma, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim from Peru, tomorrow at 12," etc. Still another, of which only the address can be noted, was written to Geo. Ticknor Curtis, Sept. 2, 1871. Beyond question there are many of Mr. Fillmore's letters in the hands of dealers or collectors; some of them are probably of historical value, could they be brought into a general collection of Mr. Fillmore's writings, thereby helping to establish his views and his part in American history. Detached, scattered and hidden, they are useless to the student. Other letters of Mr. Fillmore which are known to exist, are in the faded letter-books of his old law-firm, now stored in a law-office attic in Buffalo. While something of value might have been gleaned, had these letter-books been accessible for the present publication, the probability is that such of Mr. Fillmore's letters as would be found in them relate chiefly to his business affairs, and but little to public and political issues.

The following letter came into the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society too late for use in its proper place in this volume:

HOUSE OF REP. Feb. 24, 1841.

HON. DANIEL WEBSTER,

SIR: Understanding that Joseph C. Luther, Esq., of New York city is a candidate for the office of Consul at Havre, I beg leave to say that from a long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Luther, I believe him to be a man of strict integrity, methodical and persevering business habits, acquainted with mercantile affairs, and possessed of a high order of intellect.

He is one of those gentlemen whom the *experiments* of the last few years have reduced from a state of affluence to that of poverty—with a most amiable and excellent wife depending upon him for support—and as I believe none more worthy, if it be possible to confer upon him the office to which he aspires, I doubt not he would discharge its duties faithfully and creditably to himself and with honor to the country.

If it were proper to indulge private friendships, and individual wishes in a measure like this, I would say that no appointment that

is likely to be made after that of the Cabinet, could give me, personally, so much gratification as this.

I have the honor to be

Your fellow citizen

MILLARD FILLMORE

Supplementing the acknowledgments made in the Introduction to volume one, thanks are hereby extended, for the use of manuscripts, to Mr. C. E. Goodspeed, Boston; Mr. J. M. Fox, Philadelphia; and the Historical Society of Rochester, N. Y. For permission to reprint letters by Mr. Fillmore contained in "The Letters of Daniel Webster," etc., acknowledgment is made to the editor, Prof. C. H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich., and to the publishers, McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. F. H. S.

Errata, volume two. Page 46: For "Orasmus" H. Marshall read "Orsamus" H. Marshall. For "Eldridge" G. Spaulding read "Elbridge" G. Spaulding.

Page 195, eighth line from top: "For "Daniel B. Barnard" read "Daniel D. Barnard." Near middle of page, for "Vanderpool" read "Vanderpoel."

Page 196, note: For "uniformerly" read "uniformly."

Page 360: For "Ephriam" Marsh read "Ephraim" Marsh.

Page 440, third line from top: For "1895" read "1905."

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MILLARD FILLMORE PAPERS

VOLUME TWO

SPEECHES IN 1856

AS CANDIDATE OF THE AMERICAN PARTY

FOR PRESIDENT

OF THE UNITED STATES

MR. FILLMORE'S SPEECHES IN 1856

AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

The American party, at its National convention at Philadelphia, February 26, 1856, chose Mr. Fillmore as its candidate for President. He appears first to have received the news while in Rome, but the official letter of notification reached him in Venice early in May. He wrote his letter of acceptance at Paris, and arrived in New York on June 22d. There, and in all the principal towns through which his way lay to Buffalo, he was forced by the political exigencies of the hour as well as by popular enthusiasm to address the crowds that everywhere greeted his coming. The following record of these speeches is drawn from the newspapers and pamphlets of the day.

ON ARRIVAL AT NEW YORK.

When the steamship Atlantic, on which Mr. Fillmore was a passenger, reached her wharf at New York, Sunday evening, June 22d, a reception committee boarded the vessel and found Mr. Fillmore sitting quietly near the cabin door. Alderman Briggs, for the committee, having delivered an address, Mr. Fillmore responded:

MR. CHAIRMAN: This unexpected and flattering reception from the city of New York, and my native State, reaches a heart that cannot feel otherwise than grateful. It is true, sir, that for more than a year I have been a laborious traveler in foreign countries, and though I have wandered

far, my heart has always been yearning for my own native land. And this, sir, is the happiest and proudest moment of my life, to be received thus by a city that is known all over Europe. For you can travel in any part of Europe and ask the humblest peasant what city he knows in America, and he will reply, "the city of New York." I am proud to own that I am a native of the State of New York, but I am prouder still to say that I am an American citizen.

Sir, you have been pleased to allude to my former services to my country. It does not become me to speak of them; they have already passed into the history of the country. Much less would it become me to speak of the future. All I can say is, sir, that my name, unsolicited on my part, and entirely unexpected, has been presented by my friends for the suffrages of the people. If they shall see fit again to manifest their confidence in me by elevating me to that high position, all I can promise is, a faithful and impartial administration of the laws of the country, to every part of the country. If there be those either North or South, who desire an administration for the North as against the South, or for the South as against the North, they are not the men who should give their suffrages to me. For my own part, I know only my country, my whole country, and nothing but my country.

Sir, I was unexpectedly called upon to address you this evening, and can only conclude by returning my thanks and an appreciation of the honor which the Corporation of the City of New York has unexpectedly done me in this reception. I return my thanks to the people, too.

AT THE ST. NICHOLAS HOTEL, NEW YORK.

On arriving at the St. Nicholas Hotel about 1 o'clock a. m., in order to gratify the throng that had gathered, Mr. Fillmore appeared on a balcony and addressed them briefly:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I believe I shall hardly trespass upon the Sabbath—for it is past midnight—if I give you my thanks for this welcome back to my native State. You may

readily conceive that a person come from a long voyage, weakened by seasickness and wearied by travel, can hardly appreciate the enthusiasm displayed by a street full of people, gathered together at this unseasonable hour. I have seen much of European life—I have been able to contrast it with my own country. Compared with my own I would say to you, that after all my wanderings, my heart turns to America, my home and the place of my birth.

But, fellow-citizens, this is no time for a speech, and I will merely add, that from this time forward, I am not only with you but of you.

The following morning (June 23d) Mr. Fillmore was waited upon at the hotel by a delegation from Philadelphia, whose spokesman, Hon. Henry D. Moore, made a speech of welcome and invited him to visit Philadelphia. Mr. Fillmore responded:

Mr. Chairman: This unexpected welcome from the city of our Independence and of the Constitution, calls forth feelings of gratitude which I have not words to express. If there be any place outside of my native State which I respect, more than another, that place is Philadelphia. Its history, its sacred associations, all inspire me with respect and admiration, and I look to it as the birthplace of our Liberty and our Laws, for there Independence was proclaimed and our Constitution formed; and when I see here today the number of your delegation, and know the intelligence they represent, this kindness gives me a pleasure I have not the power adequately to express.

You have, sir, in your remarks, seen fit to allude to my travels and receptions in foreign countries. It is true that, from the crowned head to the peasant, I have been received everywhere with kindness and respect; but I do not attribute this to any merit of my own, but to the fact that your power had elevated me to the office of Chief Magistrate of this great and free Republic. But often, sir, while I have received such kindness abroad, I must own that I have

heard, with the most painful solicitude, of events and scenes which have been transpiring at home. Not often, in many parts of Europe, have I been able to see an American paper, but extracts from them I have seen everywhere copied into foreign journals, which showed that alarming dissensions and turmoil existed in my own country, such as excited in my mind the liveliest solicitude, and which have given me the greatest pain. And when it is known that foreign monarchies are watching with feelings of satisfaction every new cause of internal discord, and expecting therefrom a speedy dissolution of this model Republic, is it to be wondered at that such should be my feelings?

But, sir, it was some consolation to see—nay, a real satisfaction to know—that in all parts of Europe, many hopeful hearts were beating with anxious solicitude for our welfare, and were trusting and believing, that a free and intelligent people would continue to govern themselves. They trusted, and I trusted with them, that the day is far distant when we shall be called upon to witness so great a calamity as civil war in these States. For God's sake, let us remember that our present freedom and greatness are the gift of our forefathers, and of their concord and unity in your own city of Philadelphia.

But I am trespassing on your time. I only intended to return my acknowledgments for your kind invitation to me to visit your city. I regret that it is out of my power to accept it. I am anxious to return to my home, and see my friends from whom I have been so long absent—and at some future time, after the people shall have decided to do with me as they have a right to decide, it will afford me extreme pleasure to respond to the cordial invitation of my friends in Philadelphia.

AT THE NEW YORK CITY HALL.

At 11 o'clock, Mr. Fillmore was escorted to the City Hall, where, in the Governor's Room, there were introductions and an address by the Mayor, to which Mr. Fillmore replied:

MR. MAYOR: This unexpected and agreeable welcome from the great commercial emporium of the United States, leaves me without language to express the grateful emotions of my heart. I had hoped for a moment to have arranged my ideas, but, you know, as well as others within the sound of my voice, that from the time I landed, I have scarcely found a minute for thought. It is, however, hardly necessary. I have known this city, and I thought appreciated its importance; but until I traversed Europe, I was not so sensible of the importance of this city to the United States, and the importance of the United States to this city. You have been pleased to refer to the fact that my public life had been of a conservative character, and I am free to admit that I regard this conservatism as the proudest principle I have been able to sustain. We have received from our fathers a Union and Constitution above all price and value, and that man who cannot sacrifice anything for the support of both is unworthy of his country. You, sir, know, for I have had the gratification of expressing it to you in person, how highly I appreciated the stand you took in sustaining the laws. You know better than I can express it, that liberty can only exist in obedience to law. That country which is governed by despotism instead of law, knows not liberty. I never was so strongly impressed with this as since my return.

It has been my fortune to visit most of the principal cities on the Continent, where many of the Governments of Europe exercise their control over their subjects the same as the master exercises his power over the slave. No man is permitted to go without the walls of a city unless with a passport, nor enter another kingdom, without the same permission. I thank God, that when I stepped upon the shores of America my passport was not demanded.

Sir, your beautiful bay has often been compared to that of Naples. I have had the good fortune to look at both. Italy with its sunny skies is a delightful region. Oh, that it had a government like ours and a people to maintain it. There are points of resemblance between the two bays, but

when you look at the waters and the surrounding scenery, there the comparison ends. When I entered that city I was surrounded by swarms of beggars, but I no sooner stepped on shore here than I was surrounded by thousands of freemen. That is the difference between New York and Naples. Rome is in its decay. Venice once shone forth with more commercial splendor, perhaps, than New York does now; but where is it, and what is Venice now but a waste in the midst of the ocean? New York has just emerged to greatness, and if it would continue its onward march let our people remember the lessons taught them by our forefathers, that they must maintain the Constitution intact.

If they do this they will find that this city has but commenced its great commercial career. England at present wields the destinies of the commercial world, and her power is concentrated in London; but if this country can maintain its union, there are those now within the hearing of my voice who will live to see New York what London is now. I congratulate you, sir, that you are the Chief Magistrate of this great city, and I congratulate my fellow-citizens that you are equal to the burden imposed upon you. I also congratulate you, that no matter what may be your private feelings, you are determined to stand by the union of your country.

Pardon me for these remarks—they are desultory—but I speak with a sincere heart when I return you my most grateful thanks.

In order to gratify the crowd that surrounded the building, Mr. Fillmore complied with a request that he appear upon a balcony and speak to them. He said in effect:

Fellow-Citizens: I have just passed over the storms of the ocean, but they were nothing compared to the sea of up-turned faces which I behold before me today. To make myself heard by you, would require a trumpet-toned voice and a throat of brass. I have just tendered my acknowledgments to your Mayor and Common Council for their recep-

tion. I now tender to you, the sovereign people of this great city, my sincere and heartfelt thanks for this enthusiastic and unexpected greeting which you have seen fit to bestow upon me, on my return to my native land. To this vast multitude I can say no more. Again I tender to you my warmest acknowledgments.

Later the same day he spoke to a procession of clubs which halted at his hotel and demanded a speech:

MR. MARSHAL: I beg leave, sir, to tender you and the gentlemen under your command, my most sincere thanks for the manner in which they have conducted themselves throughout the entire ceremony of the day. It is gratifying to me to see the streets of this vast metropolis crowded with freemen, with no other arms than those of Liberty and a free Constitution. We have here no *gens d'armes* to compel us into submission and servitude. Here our freedom is guarded and protected by the ballot-box. It is gratifying to me to know that in this republican land of Liberty, it is not a requisite thing that your Chief Executive should be watched over every time he ventures in public, by a guard of *gens d'armes*. In this country he wants no other guard than that which is guaranteed to him by a free people. Permit me again to return my most sincere thanks to you for your kind reception today.

TO THE WHIG GENERAL COMMITTEE.

In the evening the Whig General Committee, 110 in number, marched to the St. Nicholas, where Mr. Fillmore received them. The Hon. James Brooks, in a pleasant speech, presented his associates to the candidate. Mr. Fillmore replied:

GENTLEMEN: I receive this congratulation with a mixture of pride and satisfaction. You have agreeably reminded me of the many hard-fought battles through which we have

passed, and it has gratified me to look round upon the faces of those who have been so often associated with me in struggles for our common country. Though I now belong, sir, to the American party, which has grown out of the exigencies of the times, yet there is not, I hope and trust, that difference of sentiment between us which should alienate old friends. You have spoken, sir, of the defeat of Henry Clay, in 1844, and you have alluded to the cause of that defeat in our own State. There, gentlemen, was the wound inflicted that began the destruction of the Whig party. There was the canker worm that gnawed it to the heart, and subsequently carried it to the grave. These are painful reminiscences, all—and let them pass. I foresaw from that time that confidence was gone here in this State among the members of the Whig party, and that men could no longer act in harmony together, when such a noble spirit was sacrificed to passion, or prejudice, or to any ambition that may have stood in its way.

When in 1848, partly by the voice of the people, and partly by that act of Providence, that took from us the then President-elect,[1] and shrouded the country in mourning, it so happened that I was without pledges, and was left to administer the Government—as it seemed to me—for the best interests of all demanded. Nothing prevented me from performing my duty to my country, and to all parts of that country, North as well as South. Thus, not only the Whigs, who elected me, rallied around me, but the Democratic party also, certainly that portion of it which was conservative, and which responded to my ardent efforts to administer the Government for the good of all concerned.

1. A curious jumble of misstatement and distorted meaning, which probably Mr. Fillmore never uttered, but so it reads in every report of this speech the editor has seen. "The voice of the people" in 1848 may be understood to mean Mr. Fillmore's election as Vice-President; but the "act of Providence" that "shrouded the country in mourning" was not in 1848, but on July 9, 1850, when General Taylor died; nor was he then "President-elect," but President in fact. Modern usage makes "President-elect" signify one who has been elected President, but not yet taken office. Mr. Fillmore more than once used the term, as here, to signify the President in active discharge of his office. Mr. Fillmore never was a precisian in his use of English—though he could set forth his ideas with perfect clearness.

Should it be my lot again to occupy the Presidential chair, I trust not only to have the support of old line Whigs —the Whigs of 1840, '44 and '52—but the support also of the old conservative elements of the Democratic party. They together carried my Administration through the trying scenes of 1850, and to them, in common with you, was I indebted for the order, peace, contentment and prosperity I was thus, under Providence, enabled to give to our common country. But I have said more than I intended, sir. I only wished to thank you, and those old Whigs whom I see around me, for thus extending to me their confidence and respect.

At a late hour, called to the hotel balcony again by the clamor of a political club, Mr. Fillmore said:

I have been told that this is the club which has just been sold out. If this be so, it is very clear, you who were sold out do not ratify the sale. But be not discouraged, my friends, by traitors. It was the lot of Americans in the contest of 1776, to be sold out, as it is said you have been sold out now. But though there was an Arnold, there was also a Washington, and in spite of the traitor, Americans were safe. Have faith, my friends, be not discouraged. No treason, no traitors, can sell out Americans who are rallying under the flag of their country, the Constitution and the Union.

ADDRESSES IN BROOKLYN.

The next day (June 24th) Mr. Fillmore was the guest of the city of Brooklyn. At the City Hall, in response to the address of welcome by Mayor Hall, he said:

MR. MAYOR: I receive this kind congratulation and welcome from the city of Brooklyn, through its chief magistrate, with no ordinary emotions. You have been pleased to say, sir, that you are no strangers to me. I am equally happy to be permitted to say that I am no stranger to the city of Brooklyn. I have watched its unusually rapid growth

with a degree of interest that perhaps you may not appreciate. No city in this State has experienced so remarkable a growth, and I could not but think, as I passed through your streets, and looked at the palatial buildings by which they are adorned, that to European ears the announcement would seem incredible that this city numbers now nearly a quarter of a million of inhabitants, and that it has grown up to its present enormous size almost within the last half century. Europe exhibits no such example as this. Europe knows not the advantages of freedom and the benefits of self-government.

Sir, you have been pleased to refer to the bones of those martyrs to the American cause who sleep within the vicinity where we now stand. Can it be possible—can reasonable men for a moment suspect—that the descendants of those martyrs could basely sacrifice the patrimony they inherited from their sires? No, gentlemen, you say truly, never! Remember the words of the great leader in the Revolutionary war, George Washington. Remember that the advice which he gave to his fellow-citizens—his parting advice in his farewell address—was, to stand by the Union; to frown upon every man, no matter what might be his pretensions, who should presume for one moment to say he was a patriot, and yet would do any act tending to dissolve this glorious Union. Sir, in speaking thus, I know I speak but the common sentiment of the American people. I am not willing to believe that there is one in this room who does not concur in the sentiments of Washington.

But, sir, pardon me for again alluding to your beautiful city. I was struck with the order which prevailed today, without the aid of any despotic police regulations. Such a spectacle could not be met with in any city of Europe. You will see there at every step armed men ready with fixed bayonets to keep the peace. Here, in this free land, under this government of the people, where they make the laws through their representatives, and sustain them by their own might and power, no such *gens d'armes* are necessary to maintain order. Every man in this city, sir, regards him-

self as specially deputed to keep the peace. This is one of the blessings of a free government.

I was struck with another thing, which is, that you have here a military array which would do honor to any city in the Union. It has been said that the fostering of the military spirit is unnecessary in time of peace, except as a preparation for war; and although I am a man of peace myself, yet I am also a firm believer in the maxim of George Washington: "In time of peace prepare for war." Therefore, sir, I commend your city for its military spirit, by which I was so much gratified, and I congratulate you on the fact that you have such a noble corps of independent soldiers ready to discharge their duty in the maintenance of the law, if it be necessary, and still more to vindicate the honor of the nation should it be attacked.

Sir, decency and propriety forbid that I should make any allusion to party politics on this occasion, and I am happy to hear you say that this reception is not tendered on party grounds, or because I happen accidentally to be a candidate for office. I should be unwilling to receive it if it were so; and its chief value is, that it is a voluntary offering to me, not as an individual, but because I have heretofore been honored by holding the office of Chief Magistrate of this great and mighty nation. Though I cannot presume to appropriate it individually, yet if anything could add to the gratification of re-visiting my native land, it is, that I have been received by my fellow-citizens with sincere congratulations like the present. I feel prouder of this than of all the marks of distinction which have been showered on me by foreign monarchs and nobility. Although I do not underestimate them, yet I prefer greatly the honor and regard of my own countrymen to all others in the world. As I value my own country above all others, so I value and esteem the congratulations of my countrymen above all others; and, therefore, it is that, with heartfelt gratitude, I return to you, and, through you, to the city of Brooklyn, my cordial and sincere thanks for this public reception.

Mr. John Jacobs, President of Washington Camp No. 2, Junior Sons of America, presented Mr. Fillmore with a gold-headed cane, engraved with the following inscription: "Presented to Hon. Millard Fillmore by Washington Camp No. 2, Junior Sons of America." Mr. Fillmore replied in substance as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF WASHINGTON CAMP NO 2, JUNIOR SONS OF AMERICA: This is not the time nor the place for me to allude to your appreciation of my public conduct. I can simply thank you on this occasion for this testimony of your regard, and I hope the time will never come when you will have reason to distrust my fidelity to the trust reposed in me by the American people.

Mr. Fillmore was conducted by the Mayor and committee, into the Chamber of the Board of Aldermen, "where had assembled some three or four hundred of Brooklyn's fair daughters." The guest was placed in the president's chair, and introduced to the ladies by Mayor Hall. Mr. Fillmore paid his compliments to them in the following terms:

LADIES OF BROOKLYN: If I had sufficient voice and strength, I could speak in a fitting manner to you on this most pleasant and gratifying occasion. But this meeting was altogether unexpected on the part of your committee and me, and indeed I was not even notified of their intent until I was ushered into your presence. I have, therefore, for once in my life, been taken completely by storm, without having had an opportunity, or even a moment's grace permitted me, in which to prepare any defence. But, ladies of Brooklyn, I am very proud to be met and surrounded by such a throng of intellect and beauty, as I see here present. I have always heard that America was celebrated for the beauty and superior intellect of her daughters, but I never so much appreciated the truthfulness of this remark, as I

have during my sojourn in foreign and distant lands. It is there that I first became convinced of the loveliness and intelligence of American beauty. I had always been told that Brooklyn was celebrated for two things above all others, the beauty of her daughters and the number of her churches; but I never before so fully appreciated the justice and reality of that celebrity as at the present time.

Ladies, allow me to conclude by thanking you most kindly for this very unexpected and, to me, most pleasant and agreeable reception by you.

AT THE PIERREPONT HOUSE, BROOKLYN.

After he had concluded Mr. Fillmore was escorted to the Pierrepont House, where he once more spoke in substance as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Until I looked upon this sea of upturned faces, I did not think that Brooklyn contained so many Americans. I was astonished, and on passing through the city I could not help but ask those in the carriage with me if you were the residents of this city. I thought that a large portion of you must have come from New York, but it was not so. I wish I had words to express my feelings on this occasion, but I have not; all I can do is to thank you for this cordial welcome to your city, which is noted for its churches; yes, and its Americans. I can hardly believe that any man born in America can possess other than an American heart. Who of you is there here who would not be an American? I know not what your preference may be but I am satisfied that the country is safe in your hands and that you can never be induced to dissolve the Union. That of which I felt particularly proud, while in foreign countries, was the fact that I was an American. But, fellow-citizens, I must close; I did not intend to address you at much length, and I now beg leave to return you my sincere thanks for your kind and patriotic welcome of me to your beautiful city.

AMERICAN PARTY PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED IN A SPEECH AT NEWBURGH, JUNE 26TH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEWBURGH: Accept my cordial thanks for this hearty greeting. My friend has introduced me as the standard-bearer of the American party, and a friend of the Union. For the former position I am indebted to the partiality of my friends, who have without my solicitation made me your standard-bearer in the contest for President, which has just commenced; but I confess to you that I am proud of the distinction, for I am an American, with an American heart. I confess that I am a devoted and unalterable friend of the Union. As an American, occupying the position I do before my countrymen, I have no hostility to foreigners. I trust I am their friend. Having witnessed their deplorable condition in the old country, God forbid I should add to their sufferings by refusing them an asylum in this. I would open wide the gates and invite the oppressed of every land to our happy country, excluding only the pauper and criminal. I would be tolerant to men of all creeds, but would exact from all faithful allegiance to our republican institutions. But if any sect or denomination, ostensibly organized for religious purposes, should use that organization, or suffer it to be used, for political objects, I would meet it by political opposition. In my view, Church and State should be separate, not only in form, but fact—religion and politics should not be mingled.

While I did this, I would, for the sake of those who seek an asylum on our shores, as well as for our own sake, declare as a general rule, that Americans should govern America. I regret to say that men who come fresh from the monarchies of the old world, are prepared neither by education, habits of thought, or knowledge of our institutions, to govern America. The failure of every attempt to establish free government in Europe, is demonstrative of this fact; and if we value the blessings which Providence has so bounteously showered upon us, it becomes every American to stand by the Constitution and laws of his

country, and to resolve that, independent of all foreign influence, Americans will and shall rule America.

I feel, fellow-citizens, that I need hardly allude to the importance of maintaining this Union. I see the national flag floating from yonder height which marks the consecrated spot of Washington's headquarters. There was performed an act of moral heroism before which the bravest deeds of Alexander pale, and with which the greatest achievements of Bonaparte are not to be compared. It was there, on that sacred spot, now shaded by the flag of a free republic, that Washington refused a crown. It was there that the officers of the army, after independence had been achieved, made him the offer of a crown, which he indignantly spurned. I am sure I need not urge upon you who live so near this hallowed spot, and in sight of that flag, the duty of observing in all your actions, the farewell advice of the Father of his Country, "that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment" to the Union[1]; "accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts." Again I thank you most sincerely for this unexpected and hearty welcome to my native State.

AT POUGHKEEPSIE.

At Poughkeepsie he said:

It cannot be possible that the sons of our sires, who shed their blood for our liberties, would think seriously for one

1. The phrase "to the Union" is not Washington's. Its equivalent in the Farewell Address is: "The unity of government which constitutes you one people"; and again: "It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness." Then follows the passage quoted by Mr. Fillmore.

moment of attempting to form themselves into any sectional organization that has for its object the dissolution of this free republic. It behooves us to hold well to the councils of the Father of our Country; to distrust all persons who by their acts cause dissension and bickering, or who advise any dividing line in our common country. Following the instructions of Washington, we cannot but distrust all who would by their acts attempt to array the North against the South, or the South against the North, or to create sectional parties and thus be the means of inciting civil dissensions among us themselves.

THE FAMOUS "UNION" SPEECH

AT ALBANY, JUNE 26, 1856

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: This overwhelming demonstration of congratulation and welcome almost deprives me of the power of speech. Here, nearly thirty years ago, I commenced my political career. In this building[1] I first saw a legislative body in session—but at that time it never entered into the aspirations of my heart that I should ever receive such a welcome as this in the capital of my native State.

You have been pleased, sir, to allude to my former services and my probable course if I should be again called to the position of chief magistrate of the nation. It is not pleasant to speak of one's self, yet I trust that the occasion will justify me in briefly alluding to one or two events connected with my last Administration. You all know that, when I was called to the Executive chair, by a bereavement which overwhelmed the nation with grief, the country was unfortunately agitated from one end to the other, upon the all-exciting subject of slavery. It was then, sir, that I felt it my duty to rise above every sectional prejudice, and look to the welfare of the whole nation. I was compelled to a certain extent to overcome long-cherished prejudices, and disregard party claims. But in doing this, sir, I did no more than was done by many abler and better men than myself. I was by no means the sole instrument, under Providence, in harmonizing these difficulties. There were at that time noble, independent, high-souled men in both houses of Con-

1. The old State House, at the head of State street, torn down when the present Capitol was begun.

gress, belonging to both the great political parties of the country—Whigs and Democrats—who spurned the character of selfish party leaders, and rallied around my Administration in support of the great measures which restored peace to an agitated and distracted country. By the blessings of Divine Providence, our efforts were crowned with signal success and when I left the Presidential chair, the whole nation was prosperous and contented, and our relations with all foreign nations were of the most amicable kind. The cloud that hung upon the horizon was dissipated.

Where are we now? Alas! threatened at home with civil war, and from abroad with a rupture of our peaceful relations. I shall not seek to trace the causes of this change. These are the facts, and it is for you to ponder upon them. Of the present Administration I have nothing to say, and can appreciate the difficulties of administering this Government; and if the present Executive and his supporters have, with good intention and honest hearts, made a mistake, I hope God may forgive them as I do. But if there be those who have brought these calamities upon the country for selfish or ambitious objects, it is your duty, fellow-citizens, to hold them to a strict responsibility.

The agitation which disturbed the peace of the country in 1850 was unavoidable. It was brought upon us by the acquisition of new territory, for the government of which it was necessary to provide territorial administrations. But it is for you to say whether the present agitation, which distracts the country and threatens us with civil war, has not been recklessly and wantonly produced by the adoption of a measure to aid in personal advancement, rather than in any public good.

Sir, you have been pleased to say that I have the union of these states at heart. This, sir, is most true, for if there be one object dearer to me than any other, it is the unity, prosperity, and glory of this great republic, and I confess frankly, sir, that I fear it is in danger. I say nothing of any particular section, much less of the several candidates before the people. I presume they are all honorable men. But,

sir, what do we see? An exasperated feeling between the North and the South, on the most exciting of all topics, resulting in bloodshed and organized military array. But this is not all, sir. We see a political party presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing those candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow, in case of success? Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a chief magistrate? Would he be required to follow the same rule prescribed by those who elected him in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon's line be not worthy to be President or Vice-President, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter, as one of his Cabinet-council, or to represent the nation in a foreign country! Or, indeed, to collect the revenue, or administer the laws of the United States? If not, what new rule is the President to adopt in selecting men for office, that the people themselves discard in selecting him?

These are serious, but practical questions, and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves. Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for President and Vice-President, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North! Do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment. And do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us, a priceless inheritance. I tell you, my friends, that I speak

warmly on this subject, as I feel that we are in danger. I am determined to make a clean breast of it. I will wash my hands of the consequences, whatever they may be; and I tell you that we are treading upon the brink of a volcano, that is liable at any moment to burst forth and overwhelm the nation. I might, by soft words, hold out delusive hopes, and thereby win votes. But I can never consent to be one thing to the North and another to the South. I should despise myself if I could be guilty of such evasion. For my conscience would still ask, with the dramatic poet:

> ". . . Is there not some chosen curse,
> Some hidden thunder in the stores of heaven,
> Red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man
> Who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?"[1]

In the language of the lamented, immortal Clay, "I would rather be right than be President." It seems to me impossible that those engaged in this, can have contemplated the awful consequences of success. If it breaks asunder the bonds of our Union, and spreads anarchy and civil war through the land, what is it less than moral treason? Law and common sense hold a man responsible for the natural consequences of his acts, and must not those whose acts tend to the destruction of the Government, be equally held responsible? And let me also add, that when this Union is dissolved, it will not be divided into two republics or two monarchies, but broken into fragments, at war with each other.

But, fellow-citizens, I have perhaps said all that was necessary on this subject, and I turn with pleasure to a less important, but more agreeable topic. It has been my fortune during my travels in Europe to witness, once or twice, the reception of royalty, in all the pomp and splendor of military array, where the music was given to order and the cheers at word of command. But, for myself, I prize the honest spontaneous throb of affection with which you have welcomed me back to my native State above all the pageants which royalty can display. Therefore with a heart overflow-

1. Addison's "Cato."

ing with grateful emotions, I return you a thousand thanks, and bid you adieu.

REMARKS AT ROCHESTER.

At several towns, as he crossed the State, Mr. Fillmore spoke, for the most part reiterating sentiments already recorded. At Rochester, on the 27th, on the balcony of the Eagle Hotel, replying to an elaborate address by Roswell Hart, Mr. Fillmore spoke at greater length than at any time since leaving Albany.

After returning his thanks for the manner in which he had been received, and for the flattering terms in which the chairman had been pleased to speak of his Administration, Mr. Fillmore said that he had no reason to disguise his sentiments on the subject of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which seemed to be the chief source of the unfortunate agitation that now disturbed the peace of the country. He said that it would be recollected, that when he came into the Administration, the country was agitated from center to circumference with the exciting subject of slavery. This question was then forced upon the country by the acquisition of new territory; and he feared that the eloquent address of the chairman had given him more credit for the settlement of that question than he was entitled to—not more, however, than he would have deserved, had his power equaled his desires. But the truth was, that many noble patriots, Whigs and Democrats, in both Houses of Congress, rallied around and sustained the Administration in that trying time, and to them was chiefly due the merit of settling that exciting controversy.

Those measures, usually called the Compromise Measures of 1850, were not in all respects what I could have desired, but they were the best that could be obtained, after a protracted discussion, that shook the republic to its very foundation; and I felt bound to give them my official approval. Not only this, but perceiving there was a disposition to

renew the agitation at the next session, I took the responsibility of declaring, in substance, in my annual Message, that I regarded these measures as a "final settlement of this question, and that the laws just passed ought to be maintained until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of modification or repeal."

I then thought that this exciting subject was at rest, and that there would be no further occasion to introduce it into the legislation of Congress. Territorial governments had been provided for all the territory except that covered by the Missouri Compromise, and I had no suspicion that it was to be disturbed. I have no hesitation in saying, what most of you know already, that I was decidedly opposed to the repeal of that Compromise. Good faith, as well as the peace of the country, seemed to require, that a compromise that had stood for more than thirty years should not be wantonly disturbed. These were my sentiments then, fully and freely expressed, verbally and in writing, to all my friends, North and South, who solicited my opinion.

This repeal seems to have been a Pandora's box, out of which have issued all the political evils that now afflict the country, scarcely leaving a hope behind, and many, I perceive, are ready to impute all the blame to our Southern brethren. But is this just? It must be borne in mind that this measure originated with a Northern Senator,[1] and was sustained and sanctioned by a Northern President. I do not recollect that even a single petition from a Southern State solicited this repeal; and it must be remembered that when a Northern Administration, with large numbers of Northern senators and Northern members, offered the Southern States a boon, Southern members of Congress could not, if they would, safely refuse it. To refuse what seemed a boon,

1. It was Augustus Chester Dodge, Senator from Iowa, who on December 14, 1853, introduced in the United States Senate "a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska." Although originally containing no reference to slavery, this bill by amendment became the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill, which President Pierce signed on May 30, 1854. Although known as the Dodge bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise which was achieved under this famous measure was due more to Stephen A. Douglas than to Dodge or any other of his coadjutors in that memorable issue.

would have been to sacrifice themselves, and this is certainly expecting too much from political men in times like these. The blame, therefore, it appears to me, with all due deference, is chiefly chargeable to those who originated this measure; and however we may deplore the act, it affords no just ground for controversy with our Southern brethren—certainly none for which they could be deprived of their political rights.

But we now see a party organized in the North, and for the first time selecting its candidates exclusively from the Northern States, with the avowed intention of electing them to govern the South as well as the North. By what rule is a President, thus elected, to select a Cabinet-council, his foreign ministers, judges and administrative officers? Are they also to be selected exclusively from the North? Or may you take a Cabinet officer from the South, though you cannot a President or a Vice-President? These, in practice, as I have said on another occasion, must become embarrassing questions. The North is, beyond all question, the most populous, the most wealthy, and has the most votes, and therefore has the power to inflict this injustice upon the South. We can best judge of its consequences by reversing the case. Suppose that the South was the most populous, the most wealthy, and possessed the greatest number of electoral votes, and that it should declare that, for some fancied or real injustice done at the North, it would elect none but a President and Vice-President of slaveholders from the South to rule over the North. Do you think, fellow-citizens, you would submit to this injustice? No, truly, you would not; but one universal cry of No would rend the skies! And can you suppose your Southern brethren less sensitive than yourselves, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken—and you must therefore perceive that the success of such a party, with such an object, must be the dissolution of this glorious Union. I am unwilling to believe that those who are engaged in this strife can foresee the consequences of their own acts. Why should not the

golden rule which our Saviour has prescribed for our intercourse with each other, be applied to the intercourse between these fraternal States? Let us do unto them as we would that they should do unto us in like circumstances. They are our brethren—they are our friends, and we are all embarked in the same ship; and if she founders in consequence of the mismanagement of the crew, we must all go down together; this Union must be torn asunder—this beautiful fabric, reared by the hands of our ancestors, must be scattered in fragments, and the people, in the language of the eloquent address of your chairman, be converted into a nation of Ishmaelites. I cannot contemplate such a scene without horror, and I turn from it with loathing and disgust.

I fear that your chairman anticipates too much when he supposes it would be in my power, if elected to the Presidency, to restore harmony to the country. All I can say is, that in such an event, I should be willing to make every sacrifice, personal and political, to attain so desirable an object. But I can never consent to be the President of one portion of this nation as against the other. I can give no pledge for the future that is not found in my past conduct. If you wish a Chief Magistrate to administer the Constitution and laws impartially in every part of the Union, giving to every State, and every Territory, and every citizen, his just due, without fear or favor, then you may cast your votes for me. I repeat here, what I have said elsewhere, that if there be those at the North who want a President to rule the South—if there be those at the South who want a President who will rule the North—I do not want their votes. I can never represent them. I stand upon the broad platform of the Constitution and the laws. If I should be called upon to administer the Government, the Constitution and laws of the country shall be executed, at every hazard and at every cost.

AT ALBION.

At Albion, in response to a speech of welcome by John H. White, Mr. Fillmore returned his acknowledgments, and said that there were peculiar relations existing between him and his friends in that beautiful village.

It was they, more than ten years ago, who first coupled his name with the highest office in the land. He never had, and never should cease to remember the fact with peculiar gratification and pride. In reference to the confidence which they had been pleased to express in him now, as well as the satisfaction with which they regarded his acts while administering the affairs of the Government, he would say that when he entered upon the discharge of the high duties of President, he found the country convulsed on the exciting topic of slavery. A series of measures calculated to restore peace—yet not in all respects what he would have been glad to have seen passed by Congress—were enacted, and he felt it his solemn duty to give them his sanction. It was not by the influence of any one man, or of any one party, that those healing measures were carried through; it was by the aid of national men and conservatives of all parties—of Whigs and Democrats—that the country was again restored to peace, and to them equally belonged the credit. He then fully hoped that peace would not be disturbed. But on his return to his country, he found it convulsed again, and threatened with the direst consequences, through the repeal of those measures, and the breaking down of a compromise that had cost so much labor and anxiety.

Mr. Fillmore said it had been truly remarked that while abroad, he had had the opportunity to compare other countries with his own; and he could say that nowhere did he find a country that could compare with Western New York, with your own Orleans County. Nowhere else is there so much intelligence, so much virtue, so much industry, so much solid prosperity as here. He had seen much of Italy, where a priesthood denied the people Liberty and the Bible

—where they were lowered and crushed beneath a despotism that was strongest where the people were least educated. "Be thankful, therefore, my friends," said Mr. Fillmore, "that you are permitted to live in this happy land; and be vigilant—ever watchful—that internal dissensions, or misgovernments, do not divide you into fragments and destroy your prosperity."

AT LOCKPORT.

At Lockport, in answer to an address by ex-Governor Washington Hunt, Mr. Fillmore spoke at length.

He said that he received this tender of the congratulations of the citizens of Niagara County on his return to his native land, through the distinguished citizen acting as their organ, with feelings of gratitude and pride. If anything could add to the pleasure he experienced in treading once again his native soil, it was the universal expression of friendship with which his countrymen had received him back again to their midst. His chief source of gratification, however, lay in meeting those whom he could regard as neighbors as well as friends; with whom his life had been spent; who had known him from his boyhood, and had watched his career since his earliest days.

Their distinguished fellow-citizen had been pleased to refer in flattering terms to certain acts of his Administration, and he should therefore be excused for alluding to those acts himself. It had been his earnest hope, as it certainly was his expectation, that the measures which had been passed during his term of office with the design of allaying the agitation then existing on the exciting subject of slavery, would have been received as a finality by all, and have proved effectual in the accomplishment of that object. He regretted extremely that those who succeeded him in the Administration had thought proper, by disturbing existing compromises, to reopen the wounds so recently healed, and again to shake the country from the center to the circumference with the same deplorable agitation. The disturb-

ance of a compromise that had existed for more than thirty years, he deeply deplored. The evils it had entailed upon the country were known to all, and he could only hope that the authors of those evils had not foreseen the consequences of their policy.

He deprecated any interference on the part of a State with the affairs of any other State or Territory. He believed that the States and Territories of the Union, like the Union itself, require no foreign influence in their government from any source whatever. He looked upon the people of this Republic as being able to govern themselves; and there was sound sense in the saying that they were best governed when least governed. He deplored the sectional policy that had been adopted by important political parties at the present time, and could only place his trust in the sterling patriotism and sound sense of the people, to avert the calamities which sectional agitation must always entail upon a country. Every reasoning man must see that the success of parties having their origin in avowed hostility to either section of the Union, can tend only to the destruction of those institutions, of which all are so proud, and of that Union so dear to every American heart.

AT TONAWANDA.

At Tonawanda, in response to an enthusiastic greeting, Mr. Fillmore said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am very happy to see you. I am very happy to be received on my return from abroad, by such a kindly greeting on the part of the citizens of Tonawanda. I know not and care not what are your political sentiments; but one thing I do know—that you are all Americans, and that as such I may address you. I am confident that, living on the borders as you do here, you are all true and staunch friends of your country. I trust that no such calamity will befall us as a war with England; but if, in the course of events, we should be driven to hostility with the country of our neighbor, we shall, I know, always find

the borderers ready to defend the territory and the honor of America. I did not expect this kind greeting from the citizens of Tonawanda, or I should probably have been prepared with some more fitting words of thanks. As it is, I can but assure you of my gratitude for your kindness. If I cannot call you all neighbors, yet we live so near to each other that I recognize among you faces that I have known for many years. I wish you all prosperity and happiness, and for the present I wish you, also, farewell.

ON ARRIVING IN BUFFALO

JUNE 28, 1856

Mr. Fillmore's arrival in Buffalo was, naturally, the occasion of a tremendous demonstration. The municipality had long been preparing for it. A great parade was held, with military and civic features, with "fairies" and flowers, music and salutes of cannon. Mr. Fillmore was conducted to a stand that had been erected in Niagara Square, and there he was welcomed home in a stirring speech by the Hon. Henry W. Rogers. Mr. Fillmore said in reply:

Friends and Fellow-Citizens: I receive this eloquent congratulation upon my return, from your appointed organ, with no ordinary sentiment of gratitude, and I return you my heartfelt thanks for this beautiful and gratifying welcome to my home. No man, unless he has been separated from those he loves most dearly and from a country that he values above price, can tell how sweet it is to revisit his home and friends, after a long absence in a strange land and among strange people. While wandering, sir, over the various countries of Europe, looking at the fertile fields in some parts, and at those which are blighted and deserted in others; witnessing here the pomp and splendor of the regal courts, and there the squalid poverty and the bitter sufferings of too many of the people, my mind has often turned with fond yearning to my home in Western New York; and I have longed for the opportunity of once more beholding this beautiful Queen City of the Empire State and of breathing again the fresh and invigorating air which blows from her lake.

I receive your congratulations, my fellow-citizens, as friends, and not as politicians. I need not, however, disguise the fact, for it has not been disguised by my eloquent friend who has welcomed me, that it has been my fate to fill the highest office in the gift of this great Republic; and I cannot doubt that the fact had much to do in producing the vast congregation I now see before me, and in prompting this pleasing demonstration on my return among you. Indeed, I can account for it in no other way. It is true, I did hope there were those who had an affectionate regard for me in the city of my residence; but could I ever conceive that I should be the recipient of such congratulations as these—that I should behold such a sight as this on my return?

My friend who has so eloquently addressed me, has made reference to my early history; I trust, therefore, that I may be pardoned for the apparent egotism of alluding myself to that subject. My career has been quite as miraculous and mysterious to myself as it can be to any other. I came to this city thirty-five years ago, a boy—a mere stripling—for the purpose of finishing my education, and fitting myself for the practice of the law. When I had received my diploma, I had not the confidence to commence my career here. I saw men around me in the profession, of marked ability and distinguished position, and I must confess that a want of confidence in myself deterred me from entering the professional arena with such competitors. I went, therefore, into a village to pursue my occupation of the law. I labored there as long as Jacob did for Rachel, and then I ventured back to the city. From that day to this my fortunes, my fellow-citizens, have been bound up in yours; and if anything in my subsequent career has reflected honor upon myself, it has reflected the same honor upon you.

There is one recollection that above all others is prized by me. Although I have often been a party candidate for public office, and opposed, and very properly opposed, by those who hold political opinions different from my own, it is due to them, as well as to myself, to say that while I have

MILLARD FILLMORE IN 1855.

From a Photograph in the Possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

represented you all for eleven years in legislative bodies, no act that I ever did—no vote that I ever gave—received the censure of my political opponents. It is due to them to say that I feel gratitude to them in my heart; and that this consideration formed no little inducement to me to return to Buffalo, where I shall probably end my days.

Your eloquent chairman has alluded to the fact that I have been travelling for some time in a foreign country. It has been my fortune, or misfortune, while there, to see royalty on several occasions, when it has called forth such enthusiasm as it can command; but you must pardon me for saying that though I have heard the cheers given to order, and the music made to command, that mark such demonstrations there, I yet feel prouder at this spontaneous expression of a people with whom I have spent thirty years of my life, than I should to be received as Queen Victoria was received in Paris by the French nation. I regard this, my friends, as the proudest day of my life. I feel, indeed, so overwhelmed by your kindness that I can scarcely give utterance to my feelings. Exhausted as I am by a week of continued excitement, following close upon a fatiguing sea-voyage, I can only say to you that you have my cordial, grateful thanks for the warm-hearted reception you have given me; and next to my gratitude to that Divine Providence that has guided me in my journey, and brought me safely to its end, is my gratitude to you, my fellow-citizens, who have made my return to my home so doubly pleasant.

May heaven bless you all, and reward you as you deserve, and may I be permitted to remain with you until I sleep here the sleep of death; for to you, and to you alone, my friends and fellow-citizens, I trust my reputation and my happiness hereafter.

VARIOUS ADDRESSES

CHIEFLY IN BUFFALO

CLUB PAPERS, ETC.

1841 TO 1873

ON THE

DEATH OF PRESIDENT HARRISON

President William H. Harrison died April 4, 1841. At a meeting of the citizens of Buffalo, April 13th, Mr. Fillmore being called upon by the chair to announce the objects of the meeting, "rose and spoke nearly in the following words":

Mr. Chairman: At your request, I arise with more sorrow than language can express, to announce the objects of this meeting. I regret that a hesitancy between the city authorities and citizens, as to which should move first, has delayed it so long. We have all heard the painful, heart-rending intelligence of the death of the Chief Magistrate of these United States. But a few short weeks since, I saw this venerable man in the vigor of health, standing as it were, at the altar of his country, surrounded by the representatives of foreign nations, and thousands and tens of thousands of his own fellow-citizens, to dedicate himself to his country's service. Methinks I now see his venerable form, I hear his strong, clear and emphatic voice, as he appeals to God in taking the solemn oath prescribed by the Constitution—and the joyous acclamations of the assembled multitude, that rent the skies, still ring in my ears. But alas! how transient is all worldly glory—how vain are all human hopes. This idol of a nation's admiration, this object of a nation's aspirations, is no more. William Henry Harrison, the hero, the statesman and the patriot, who has inscribed his name on the brightest page of our history, sleeps the sleep of death.

Every paper comes clad in the dark shade of mourning—every countenance bears the impress of sorrow and bereavement, and every breeze swells with the anguish of a sorrowing nation. All political strife is hushed—all party malice lies buried in the grave of the deceased.

The ways of Providence are inscrutable. As mortals, as Christians, we bow to this awful dispensation without a murmur. Heaven only knows why it was best. Our duty is not to inquire, but submit. May it not have been to teach a lesson of humility and moderation—to soften the asperity of political warfare, and chasten the inordinate longings of ambition?

But this is no time to moralize, or speak of the merits of the deceased. All hearts are now filled with grief. I hope that some person present may be prepared with some resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting on this melancholy occasion—and some suggestions as to the most proper mode of testifying our respect for the virtues of the deceased, and our sorrow at this national calamity.

A WELCOME TO

EX-PRESIDENT JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

When it was known that ex-President Adams would visit Buffalo in July, 1843, a citizens' committee was organized to arrange for a suitable reception. Mr. Fillmore's name headed the list. On July 26th, the Buffalo deputation met Mr. Adams at Schlosser, above Niagara Falls, accompanied him by boat to Buffalo and escorted him to the Park, now Lafayette Square, where Mr. Fillmore welcomed him to the city in the following words:

SIR: I have been deputed by the citizens of this place to tender you a welcome to our city. In the discharge of this grateful duty, I feel that I speak not only my own sentiments, but theirs, when I tell you that your long and arduous public services, your lofty independence, your punctilious attention to business, and, more than all, your unsullied and unsuspected integrity, have given you a character in the estimation of this republic, which calls forth the deepest feelings of veneration and respect.

You see around you, sir, no political partisans seeking to promote some sinister purpose; but you see here assembled the people of our infant city, without distinction of party, sex, age or condition, all—all—anxiously vying with each other to show their respect and esteem for your public services and private worth.

Here, sir, are gathered in this vast multitude of what must appear to you strange faces, thousands whose hearts have vibrated to the chord of sympathy which your written

speeches have touched. Here are reflecting age, and ardent youth, and lisping childhood, to all of whom your venerated name is as familiar as household words—all anxious to feast their eyes by a sight of that extraordinary and venerable man of whom they have heard and read and thought so much—all anxious to hear the voice of that "old man eloquent," on whose lips wisdom has distilled her choicest nectar. Here, sir, you see them all, and read in their eager and joy-gladdened countenances and brightly beaming eyes, a welcome—a thrice-told, heartfelt, and soul-stirring welcome to "the man whom they delight to honor."

Ex-President Adams spoke at length in reply and for twenty-four hours was the recipient of many attentions from the people of Buffalo, with Mr. Fillmore as chief host.

IN BEHALF OF IRELAND

A meeting of the citizens of Buffalo was held in the Court House on the evening of February 15, 1847, to consider measures of relief for Ireland. Gaius B. Rich presided, and among the speakers was Mr. Fillmore, whose remarks were reported by the *Commercial Advertiser* as follows:

Mr. President: I came here to listen, not to speak. I am satisfied in regard to the great question now before the meeting. I accord the value, the valor, the wisdom of the Irish people, but we are called upon to take active measures to relieve the distress that now exists throughout the length and breadth of that country, and the outstretched arms of suffering millions are imploring us to save life. The only question is, what can we do, and how do it?

No one can doubt the existence of great want and suffering—it is corroborated by the Queen's speech—by the English and Irish papers; and I venture to say that within the recollection of the oldest person present, no such circumstance has ever before occurred. It is sufficient for every man who has a heart to feel, that men, women and children are dying of hunger. It may be found that the aid may not reach those who are now in great destitution—it may arrive too late—but it is more than probable that the terrible state of things which now exists may continue for months. All we can do ought promptly to be done, for the relief afforded by us will be the means of saving many valuable lives.

A course has been pursued in Albany, I understand, whereby provisions may safely reach those for whom they

are intended, and the next question is, how shall we contribute? It occurred to me that money should be converted into provisions. I am astonished that the warehouses in Ireland should be groaning under the weight of breadstuffs now locked up within her walls, while millions of her people are dying from absolute starvation. This, in my opinion, is conclusive that we ought to invest the money contributed, into food and clothing, and transmit direct. What I can do, I stand ready to do. The people of Ireland are separated from us by an ocean, to be sure, but they are nevertheless a part of the human family, and justly entitled to our sympathy and aid.[1]

1. Some eleven hundred dollars was subscribed at the meeting, Mr. Fillmore's contribution being $50.

AS CHANCELLOR OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

At the first annual commencement of the University of Buffalo, June 16, 1847, Mr. Fillmore, the Chancellor—as he continued to be for more than a quarter-century—delivered an address of which the following extracts are preserved:

Fellow-Citizens: Urged by pressing solicitations of the Medical Faculty of the University of Buffalo, I have reluctantly consented to address a few words to you on this interesting occasion. My official relations to this institution are such that I do not presume to possess that intimate practical knowledge of the progress of its students or their various qualifications, which can be known only to the faculty and the professors. But to those of you who have been so fortunate as to make the acquaintance of the latter, and witness their proficiency, learning and unwearied assiduity in teaching, nothing which I could say could add to your high estimation of their ability and worth. As a body, they are doubtless equal to that of any other faculty in the Union, and they only require the requisite time and our cordial and united support, to render the medical department of this university as celebrated as any other similar college in the United States.

This, then, is a new era for the citizens of Buffalo. This is the first time we have ever been called upon to witness the interesting ceremony of conferring the time-honored degrees of a collegiate course. Here for the first time we see assembled the officers and professors of a literary institution, located in our midst, and destined we trust to shed its liter-

ary and scientific blessings, not only upon the youth of our own prosperous city, but upon those of the surrounding country and adjacent States. While the patriot and the scholar will rejoice at the brilliant prospect that opens before us, let us mingle our congratulations, and revert for a moment to the history of the past before we contemplate the bright prospect of the future.

Those of us who have known this city for the last twenty years, have seen it rise from a small village of less than 5,000 inhabitants, contending for years for its very existence against a rival locality at Black Rock, to a proud and enterprising city of 30,000, with a fair prospect of doubling its population every ten years for a century to come. But while our fortunate location has attracted multitudes to swell our population, whose industry has built and adorned our city, and whose enterprise and wealth have spread our commerce over the great inland seas of the West, our literary institutions, and especially those of a higher character, have been sadly neglected. This, though much to be regretted, seemed a necessary consequence of our society and pursuits. Our population was composed of poor but enterprising young men, who seemed to have been drawn to this point by some invisible magnet. The town itself, like the fabled phœnix of antiquity, had just risen from the ashes of desolation, marked by the footprints of a conquering and savage foe. Individual enterprise exhausted its energies in private pursuits to provide the necessaries of life, or to accommodate the fancied stores of future ease and luxury. Society was not yet formed. The aggregate materials lacked that necessary cement which nothing but time, leisure and social intercourse can impart. Hence, few public enterprises, which required a union of sentiment and capital were undertaken. The union of sentiment could not be had, for each was intent upon his own object, and the union of wealth could not be had, for it did not exist; it was yet to be created.

During the years of 1835 and '36, a fancied increase in the value of real estate, in this city, induced many an indi-

vidual to believe himself independently rich.[1] I recur to these day-dreams of exhaustless wealth, not to show how the miser, in anticipation, gloated over his hoarded treasure; or the reckless profligate, valuing it only as it enabled him to gratify his appetites, plunged soul and body in ruin; but for a far more gratifying purpose. I recur to it now to show that there were those then among us, who duly appreciated the blessings of wealth, because they estimated rightly its use.

In 1836, a charter was procured by some of these men, incorporating the Western University, to be located in the city of Buffalo. And during the summer of that year the books were opened and subscriptions were made, endowing six or seven professorships at $15,000 each, and $12,000 or $15,000 were also subscribed to the general fund; and a building lot was conditionally presented by one of our wealthiest citizens, Judge Walden, near the barracks.[2]

It is true that before this splendid scheme could be carried out, the times changed, the value of property fell—many that supposed themselves rich became poor, and all suddenly awoke to the sad reality that neither the hopes of avarice nor of magnanimous generosity, could be realized—that this fancied wealth, and all the bright visions of selfish gratification or public benefaction founded thereon, had faded away like

> " . . . the unsubstantial fabric of a dream."

As a necessary consequence this splendid project failed. But yet a just meed of praise is due to those who made the generous attempt—who proffered their wealth when they thought they had it, though an unexpected reverse of fortune deprived them of the pleasure of bestowing, and the public of the advantage of receiving, their intended bounty.

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1. *See* "The Speculative Craze of 1836," by Guy H. Salisbury, Buffalo Historical Society *Publications,* Vol. IV.

2. The Poinsett Barracks, the United States military establishment in Buffalo in the '40s, occupying ground now bounded by Main, North, Delaware and Allen streets. For some account of this garrison, with diagram of grounds, *see* Buffalo Historical Society *Publications,* Vol. VIII, pp. 468-475.

This sad result of so noble an enterprise seemed for a time to dishearten our citizens. The corporation had incurred debts, though comparatively small, beyond its means of payment, and when some of our citizens in 1844 and '45 turned their attention to the establishment of a medical college here, they were deterred from attempting it under that charter, and the act incorporating the University of Buffalo, was passed on the 11th day of May, 1846—for which we are chiefly indebted to the unwearied exertions of Nathan K. Hall, Esq., our Member of Assembly at that time. Though the charter contemplated and authorized academical, theological, legal and medical departments, yet those most interested in procuring the charter, engaged in it chiefly with a view of establishing a medical college, and the donations and subscriptions were principally made to promote that object, and that is the only department which has yet been organized.

The subscription books were opened in the summer of 1846, the requisite subscription and payments made to authorize the election of officers and the organization of the institution, and on the 22d day of August, 1846, the following-named persons were duly elected the Council of said University, viz.:

Thomas M. Foote, James O. Putnam, Hiram A. Tucker, Orasmus H. Marshall, George W. Clinton, Eldridge G. Spaulding, John D. Shepard, Gaius B. Rich, Millard Fillmore, Orson Phelps, Joseph G. Masten, Ira A. Blossom, Isaac Sherman, George R. Babcock, William A. Bird, Theodotus Burwell; James P. White, member-elect from the Medical Faculty; the Mayor of the City of Buffalo, and the Recorder of the City of Buffalo, *ex-officio*.

After the council had prepared and ordained the necessary by-laws, for the organization of the medical department, they established that faculty by the appointment of the following professors, on the 25th of August, 1846—namely:

Charles Brodhead Coventry, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Medical Jurisprudence.

Charles Alfred Lee, M. D., Professor of Pathology and Materia Medica.

James Webster, M. D., Professor of General and Special Anatomy.

James P. White, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children.

Frank Hastings Hamilton, M. D., Professor of Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery.

Austin Flint, M. D., Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Medicine.

George Hadley, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy.

Corydon La Ford, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy and Librarian.

The following gentlemen, selected from among the oldest and most distinguished members of the medical profession in Western New York, were chosen as curators, whose duty it is to assist the faculty in the examination of candidates for the degree of M. D.:

Josiah Trowbridge, M. D., Bryant Burwell, M. D., Carlos Emmons, M. D., and Bela H. Colegrove, M. D., Erie County; G. Conger, M. D., Niagara County; Caleb Hill, M. D., Orleans County; John Cotes, M. D., Genesee County; W. R. Fay, M. D., Wyoming County; Samuel Salisbury, M. D., and ———— Reynale, M. D., Livingston County; Gustavus A. Rogers, M. D., Steuben County; John B. Elwood, M. D., and W. W. Ely, M. D., Monroe County; Richard Charles, M. D., Allegany County; Owen Munson, M. D., Ontario County; John Coventry, M. D., Wayne County; A. F. Oliver, M. D., Yates County; J. E. Hawley, M. D., Tompkins County; M. B. Bellows, M. D., Seneca County; Evelyn H. Porter, M. D., and Alexander Thompson, M. D., Cayuga County; John McCall, M. D., Oneida County; Miles Goodyear, M. D., Cortland County.

Having no buildings, one was leased for three years, at the corner of Washington and Seneca streets, and fitted up at considerable expense for the purpose, and the first annual course of lectures commenced by this distinguished body of

professors on the first Wednesday of February last, which term is now about to close. The whole number of students attending has been seventy-two—some eighteen of whom will receive their diplomas of Doctors of Medicine today. These are the first fruits of this literary and scientific vineyard, and I trust they are only samples of a more abundant harvest that is to be annually gathered hereafter.

If at the commencement any doubted the success of this enterprise, or thought the attempt premature, we trust that enough has now been done to dispel every doubt, and allay every apprehension. For never within our knowledge has any medical college opened with so large a class of students, and closed its first year under such flattering auspices.

During the last session of the Legislature $2,000 were appropriated to the medical department of the University of Buffalo, for which we are chiefly indebted to the praiseworthy exertions of Mr. [Horatio] Shumway, our present Member of Assembly, and no less to Mr. [Carlos] Emmons, our representative in the Senate.

But we can not rely upon this as a permanent source of supply; nor indeed do I think it would be best for the University or the city that we should.

I am one of those who believe that "there is no royal road to knowledge," and that there should be no sinecures connected with our literary and scientific institution, and that the funds should never come so easy as to tempt to the creation of such plans, or the employment of mere literary drones.

That some assistance may be necessary to raise the requisite funds to buy the land and erect suitable buildings, none can deny. But this accomplished, why should not an institution of this kind, sustain itself? If professors feel that this compensation depends upon the number of students they instruct, they will endeavor to acquit themselves in such a manner as to increase that number; and if they are not able to attract a sufficient number to afford an adequate compensation, then, I maintain, that that is evidence of one of two things; either the professor is not competent, and

should therefore quit his vocation, or is not wanted, and therefore should not be employed. It resolves itself into a want of capacity to instruct, or a want of pupils to be instructed. Neither of these can be remedied by State bounty or testamentary endowments.

The medical department has thus far been conducted upon the plan that the fee from the student is the only reward of the professor, and I am happy to add, with every prospect of success.

This department being thoroughly and rightly established, I hope to see next the academic department organized, and at the earliest possible moment; and why should we despair of this? The time has come when such an institution is indispensable to the wants and honor of our city. I appeal to every father who has a son to educate. Why should he be compelled to send that son to some eastern village or distant city to give him a liberal education? Can it be that this proud Queen of the Lakes, into whose lap is poured the commercial wealth of eight States, cannot maintain a single college! Are our crowded wharves and glutted warehouses mere mockeries of wealth? No—our numerous and costly temples for religious worship not only attest our piety and devotion, but show what the enterprise and noble generosity of Buffalo can accomplish when its sympathies and energies are enlisted in a good cause. Then let me appeal to you on behalf of the University of Buffalo, your own darling child, bearing your own name, and stretching out its arms for your support. Will you see it perish, or will you step forward with true paternal feelings, and minister to its wants, and raise it from despondency to hope, from weakness to power, and from childhood to manhood! If you will, be assured, that you will establish an institution eminently useful to yourselves, which will become the pride and ornament of our city, and for which you will receive the grateful thanks and fervent blessings of unborn millions.

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE

BUFFALO MEDICAL COLLEGE

The first building erected for the University of Buffalo was the medical college at the corner of Main and Virginia streets.[1] It was dedicated November 7, 1849, on the occasion of the opening of the fourth annual session of the university. The following is from the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser's* report of the following day:

Mr. Fillmore, being introduced, remarked that if any had come there with a view of listening to an address from him, they would probably be disappointed. He had no expectation of delivering an address, but had merely consented to make a few remarks upon the subject of the university generally—its progress from its first inception, the expenses of the building, etc., and on receiving the note of invitation yesterday, had prepared a few statistics. He was not in the habit of committing what he had to say to paper, and therefore his remarks would necessarily be desultory, and not probably very attractive to the D. D.'s and M. D.'s who had assembled here today.

It seems that we have met here to dedicate this building —if it be proper to use the term in this connection. If a few who are here will look back about four years they will remember that on a dark November evening a small number of medical gentlemen, and lawyers and a few other citizens assembled in an office on Main Street for consultation. That consultation was not long, but it was doubtful as to results.

1. Occupied by the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo until the opening of the new medical college on High street, March 5, 1893; soon after that date it was torn down. The site is now covered by the building of the Buffalo Catholic Institute.

They discussed the question whether Buffalo had arrived at a position when it was practicable to establish a college, a university, or a medical school; and it was finally concluded to petition the Legislature for a university charter. A memorial was prepared and a charter was granted under which this medical college is organized, authorizing a capital of $100,000. It required that the college should be organized within three years—that $20,000 should be subscribed and 10 per cent.—$2,000—paid in, before the organization should be perfected and officers elected.

In the summer of 1846 the medical faculty, in connection with some of the enterprising citizens, took the required amount of stock and paid in the ten per cent. In the fall of the same year, the medical department was organized by the election and appointment of officers and professors. The $2,000 was appropriated to the preparation of a building to be occupied temporarily. This first attempt was more successful than the most sanguine friends of the institution had anticipated. The college was opened for the first time in the spring of 1847—it having been determined to commence at this season so as not to interfere with other institutions. The number of students was sixty-three. The next term, in the spring following, opened with ninety-six, showing an increase highly flattering to the faculty.

But a question was raised before the United States Medical Association, in relation to the expediency of extending the term from four to six months, which was decided in favor of the proposition. In this recommendation the medical faculty of this institution readily acquiesced and accordingly resolved on extending the next term from four to six months, and to change the time of its commencement from spring to fall. But recent discussions before the Association at its session in Boston, have raised strong doubts as to the expediency of the extended time. And it is now thought better for the student to attend three terms of four months, than two of six. Long interrupted application is of doubtful utility, and the last appears to be the more enlightened view of the question.

He had been requested to state the amount which had been subscribed towards the erection of this edifice. Independent of the $20,000, it amounted to upwards of $12,000, subscribed by 130 individuals, in sums varying from $20 to $500—$10,000 of which was realized and appropriated to the objects designed. Most of the subscriptions were of $100 each. In March, 1848, the Council purchased this lot, 100 feet on Main Street, running back 200 feet on Virginia, for $2,950—$1,700 of which was paid and the balance secured by a mortgage. Three thousand dollars being found inadequate to pay for the land and erect the building, it was decided to raise $2,000 by a further mortgage. These two sums, amounting to $3,250, are the only encumbrances, and with this exception the institution is free from debt, which must be highly gratifying to all the contributors. The building cost upward of $13,000.

But he found on looking at the charter that the university was authorized to confer literary honors, degrees and diplomas according to the usual practice of such institutions. What are these degrees? What benefits do they confer? He hoped the audience would pardon him if he had to draw on history for his facts in relation to the origin of degrees and the object of conferring them.

What is a university? Where did it originate? What was meant by it? According to his understanding of the subject, universities originated soon after the revival of letters in the eleventh or twelfth century, so that they had been in existence some 700 or 800 years. It was at Paris, or at Bologna, that the first university was established.[1] And the celebrated Abelard, better known for his unfortunate

1. To judge from this report of Mr. Fillmore's address, he was in doubt whether Bologna or Paris had the better claim to precedence as a university seat. The establishment of the university at Bologna is recorded as of the year 1119. A somewhat similar institution at Montpellier, in France, was in existence in 1181, whereas the University of Paris and of Oxford in England are said to date from the year 1200. None of these institutions for learning can be declared the first for such purpose, for Cairo had a great school in the tenth century, though there was of course but little resemblance between it—or even the scholastic centers at Bologna and Montpellier—and the modern concept of a university.

love for Heloise, is well known for the active part he took in establishing the University of Paris. They were not chartered then as now, but of spontaneous growth. Men celebrated for their learning and science, called around them those desirous of being instructed, and after a while they had privileges conferred upon them, until at length universities were established. The degrees were the same then as now, and the universities of Paris and Bologna continued to be models for all Europe down to a late period. The first degree was called Bachelor of Arts. And why a Bachelor? This term signifies a young person, unless, indeed, "old" be added to it, and it does not differ greatly in its signification from the degree conferred by the universities. It originated with the military, and meant a young officer—one fresh in his promotion. From the military it was readily transferred to the church, and was used to designate those who had just taken orders—and thence to the university, where it was applied to those yet upon the threshold of science—those still young in knowledge. Hence it is very appropriate. A Bachelor of Arts—one who has taken his first step. We also find Master of Arts, Doctor of Laws, Doctor of Divinity, and Doctor of Medicine. How come these? If he were correctly informed, students were first admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. The next degree at Paris was called Master of Arts, signifying that he was qualified as a master of his profession. These having originated at Paris and Bologna, extended and were adopted by all other universities.

But the degree of M. D. is the one with which we are the most familiar. This originated at Bologna, or extended thence from Paris. Whence comes the term D. D.? It came from the same source. He need not tell his enlightened audience that the Pope conferred the charters upon all the earlier universities. Divinity began to be studied, and D. D. was conferred, implying that the person receiving it was master in the Department of Divinity. How came LL. D. to be conferred? How came it that with so many eminent men in the legal profession in England and in the

United States, there were no LL. D.'s? During the Dark Ages the Roman law was lost amid the ravages of the Goths and Vandals. At Bologna a copy of the Roman law was said to have been found in the eleventh century, when the emperor ordained that it should be publicly expounded in the schools, and to give encouragement to the study, it was further ordained that the professors of this law should be dignified with the title of Doctor. The priesthood commenced its study, and became much delighted with it, as well they might. A department was established at the University of Bologna for the study of the Civil or Roman Law. Hence the degree. But this law not being adopted by Great Britain, whose law we have inherited, we have no LL. D.

In the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the professors, many of them being from the Continent, attempted to introduce the Civil Law into Great Britain. But the sterling nobility repelled it. Great Britain refused to adopt it and we followed. It has never been taught in the British universities. Inns of Court were established, but no degrees were ever introduced. The lawyers of England had indeed two distinctions—barristers and sergeants—which answered to the degree of Civil Law of Master and Doctor, but without its effect. The degree of M. D., until recently, by the laws of this State, admitted the one who bore it to the right to practice medicine—that of D. D. to practice Divinity. In Germany the title of LL. D. admitted its bearer to any of the courts. But not so here. It confers no such privileges with us, and is not recognized. In England they have the Doctors' Commons, a place where the Doctors of the Civil Law congregate and practice in these courts. It will be seen, therefore, that these degrees, originally and now, on the Continent, confer honor and power, but it is not so here. Heretofore, and until very recently, the degree of M. D. conferred power to a certain extent, but now it is a mere honorary distinction—well worthy the aspirations of any one, but conferring no substantial privileges under the laws of this State.

It will be seen that universities as instituted in Europe, were designed for the liberal arts, law, divinity and medicine. Our citizens called for and obtained a university charter. Where is your faculty for the department of law? Where your professors of divinity? Where your academic branches? All wanting. Shall this much longer be a reproach to a city which is increasing its population at the rate of 5,000 per year, and in wealth and business prosperity! The medical faculty, by a noble and persevering effort, have filled up theirs, and are now prepared to go on with their school in an edifice which their own hands have builded. All else is vacant. Reflect, and see if it will not be a reproach upon us, if we longer permit our university to exist with but a single branch in operation. But it can scarcely be so deemed. Not that this may not be the most important. Now to secure the advantages of an academic department, we are compelled to send our sons to Geneva, to Union, and other institutions at the East. But he looked forward with confidence to the time when this would not be, and at no distant day.

He recollected reading recently that Macauley delivered an address at the University of Glasgow, which was founded 400 years ago by the Pope. He called up the long list of great names who have graduated there during this period. May not some future Macauley—when 400 years more may have elapsed—call up the name of some, it may be, now obscure individual, who has been a benefactor of his race—who has been educated at our university? If such an opportunity is afforded, it must be done by enlisting your exertions in building up an institution which shall be an honor to the city.

Mr. Fillmore said he had spoken much longer than he had intended, and would give way to one of the professors of the college, who was better prepared to address the audience.[1]

1. The reporter (or editor) considerately added to the foregoing: "Mr. Fillmore is not responsible for anything but the leading ideas of the above sketch."

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE

BUFFALO GENERAL HOSPITAL

The Buffalo General Hospital[1] was dedicated June 24, 1858, with exercises of uncommon interest, shared in by many prominent men and women of Buffalo. Mr. Fillmore was president of the day, and on taking the chair spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel that it is no slight honor to be called to preside at the dedication of this building. Its erection and the purpose it is intended to subserve, constitute an object of great importance to our growing city. I know not how much attention you may have given to this enterprise, but for myself I must confess that I have been delinquent. I was not aware how silently and rapidly this building had grown up, and I was at once gratified and astonished yesterday, when, in company with Mr. Clarke[2] and the Board of Trustees, I passed through the edifice and saw how much had been done.

To a city like ours, a hospital is indispensable. It is so situated upon the great lines of travel, and its pursuits and commerce are of such a nature, that transient persons are

1. Of the many Buffalo institutions with which Mr. Fillmore's name must always be associated, none has stood for greater use in the community than the General Hospital. It was organized November 21, 1855, subscriptions having been made early in that year. In 1856 the State made an appropriation of $10,000 towards the erection of a building, and in June, 1857, the present site on High street was chosen. The hospital was opened to patients July 15, 1858. During the Civil War over 1200 sick and wounded soldiers received medical aid in this institution.

2. Charles E. Clarke, president of the Board of Trustees.

attracted hither from all parts of the country, creating a constant need for such an institution. Hitherto the provisions for this purpose have been inadequate. Indiscriminate charity is, beyond question, a great evil and error. The primal penalty imposed on man was, that by the sweat of his brow should he earn his bread, and if we adopt such a system of indiscriminate relief as will lead men to believe that their wants will be provided for in any event, whether they labor or are idle, we but stimulate mendicancy and offer a reward for idleness. But there are two classes of the needy which demand and deserve charity. The orphans are already provided for by a noble institution among us. And next are those who by sickness or accident are deprived of the power of supporting themselves, for whom, up to the present time, no sufficient charity has been afforded. I therefore congratulate you on the opening of this charity, on the success which has hitherto attended the labors of its founders, and the encouraging prospects to which they can look forward. These gentlemen whom you see around me are those who are entitled to the honor of having carried out this object. It is by their labor and devotion that the plan so wisely begun has attained to such honorable success.

I intended to occupy but a moment of your time in taking the chair, but I could not resist the impulse to say thus much in honor of the occasion.

AN "ATLANTIC CABLE" BANQUET

September 1, 1858, a banquet "in honor of the successful submersion of the Atlantic telegraph cable," was held at St. James Hall, Buffalo. Millard Fillmore presided, and spoke as follows:

We have met, fellow-citizens, to commemorate the most important—I may say, the most marvelous—event of the age—the successful laying of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, by means of which intelligence flashes across the broad ocean with the velocity of lightning. Only a century since, Swedenborg acquired the reputation of a prophet because he announced at Gottenburg that a fire was then raging at Stockholm. But now the Queen of England, sitting in her easy chair at Buckingham Palace, salutes the President at the White House, as though he sat in an adjoining room with the door open, and after exchanging congratulations upon their intellectual proximity, gives him to understand that the difficulties with China are all settled, and that the rebellion in India is nearly quelled.

Is it strange that two nations, whose aggregate possessions encircle the globe, should mingle their congratulations at an event like this? In the Dark Ages such an event would have been a miracle at the annunciation of which whole nations would have prostrated themselves in reverent adoration. But to us it is no miracle, but an understood reality, and therefore, the bells of old England and young America ring out their merry chimes, and their cannons roar and bonfires blaze, as though we were of one heart and one mind. In this exultation of joy we forget that we are distinct nations, that a Revolution has sundered the political

ties which bound us to them, and that the wide Atlantic rolls between us. Heaven grant that this magnetic cord may be a chain of friendship, ever kept bright by reciprocal kind offices, and never broken by the ravages of an unnatural or unjust war.

But, fellow-citizens, I did not rise to make a speech. That will be much more ably and satisfactorily performed by those to whom that duty has been assigned by the committee of arrangements.

I only wish to return my thanks for the honor you have done me in calling upon me to preside on this interesting occasion, and to express my regret that the modesty of our worthy Mayor should have induced him to decline this honor. I trust that the several speakers will pardon me for saying that the lateness of the hour admonishes us to be brief.

[The Hon. James Wadsworth followed Mr. Fillmore, and at the close of his remarks proposed the toast, "Our honored townsman, Millard Fillmore."]

In reply to the sentiment of Senator Wadsworth, Mr. Fillmore said that he could not forbear to say a word in regard to the personal allusion to himself. It was his fortune earlier than others to have confidence in the success of the telegraph. He was day by day in conference with Mr. Morse, and while few believed in the enterprise, he as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means said to his colleagues that if they would report in favor of an appropriation to Mr. Morse, he would risk his reputation in defending the measure in the House. He thanked God the project was successful.

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO.

As Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, Mr. Fillmore presided at the annual commencement of the Medical Department in 1859—February 23d—and presented the degrees

to the graduating class. Of his address the fullest known record is the following synopsis (Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* February 24th) :

Having distributed the diplomas, Mr. Fillmore followed the ceremony with a brief address to the graduates, pertinent to the occasion, and particularly appropriate to its distinguished source. Remarking that it was not his province to advise them in matters purely professional, he could, perhaps, as an outside observer, address to them some counsel on their general duties as men and their relations to the community at large.

He spoke of the physician as occupying a position as arbiter between life and death, and incurring a responsibility as heavy as man could possibly bear. It was their duty to be true to themselves, to act with perfect candor, making no unauthorized pretences, laying no claim to a wisdom greater than they possessed. He warned them against detraction of competitors and assured them that it was not only the right, but the best policy, to speak of other practitioners in a generous and appreciative manner. In their intercourse with patients and families they would become the repository of secrets which should remain inviolable. For ages the law had enjoined secrecy on the lawyer in his intercourse with his client, and recently that injunction had been extended to the relation of physician and patient. Not only in cases where crime came to his knowledge in the confidential intercourse of the sickroom, but in all cases of illness, the physician should make no revelations save such as are obviously for the good of the patient himself.

Mr. Fillmore then spoke eloquently of the true idea of education. There are two educations—scholastic and practical. Books were of value, but in all professions practice was the great teacher. The positive sciences of medicine might be unchangeable, the anatomy of the human form was ever the same; but its diseases changed from time to time, new epidemics appeared, and were the student versed in all

the literature of the medicine of today, he would find tomorrow new fields of research open before him.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION AT THE BUFFALO CENTRAL SCHOOL.

On February 22, 1861, Mr. Fillmore participated in a celebration of the anniversary of Washington's birthday, at the Buffalo Central School, and in response to a cordial welcome from young and old, made a brief address.

He told how interested he had been, and said there was no need to add anything to what the young patriots, male and female, had uttered so eloquently during the morning. He believed that all the successors of Washington in the Presidential chair had endeavored to administer the Government on his principles; with what success time and history must determine. A dark cloud was lowering over the South. It was our duty in the North, the duty of every patriot, to withhold all manifestations of hostility, to show the South that we were their brethren, that we were ready to conciliate them, and to do so by doing all that we ever agreed to do, and then call upon them to do everything that they had agreed with us. The country was passing through a terrible crisis; but he believed that the patriotism which presided over its birth would ultimately save it.

FILLMORE'S WAR-TIME VIEWS

At the Union rally in the Metropolitan Theater, Buffalo, April 16, 1861, Mr. Fillmore, the chairman, said:

Fellow-Citizens: It is many years since I have taken any part in a political meeting, and I never intended to attend another. I have long since ceased to be a partisan or politician in the ordinary acceptance of those terms. But I have not ceased to love my country, to venerate its institutions, to take a just pride in its prosperity and glory, and to tremble with anxiety when I see all that a patriot should hold dear in the most imminent peril.

It is for this reason that I have at your request, consented to preside at this meeting—composed, as it is, of the citizens of Buffalo without distinction of party, who have assembled here to express their sentiments on the alarming state of the country. To be thought worthy of such an honor, at such a time, from those with whom my life has been spent, calls for my grateful acknowledgment, and I therefore return you my cordial thanks for this mark of your continued confidence and respect.

But, my fellow-citizens, this is no time for any man to shrink from the responsibility which events have cast upon him. We have reached a crisis in the history of this country when no man, however humble his rank, or limited his influence, has a right to stand neutral. Civil War has been inaugurated, and we must meet it. Our Government calls for aid, and we must give it. Our Constitution is in danger, and we must defend it. It is no time now to inquire by whose fault or folly this state of things has been produced. The Ship of State is in the breakers, the muttering thunder and

darkened sky indicate the coming storm, and if she sinks we must go down with her. We have a common lot and must meet a common fate. Let every man therefore stand to his post, and like the Roman sentinel at the gate of Pompeii, let posterity, when the storm is over, find our skeleton and armor on the spot where duty required us to stand.

You know, my friends, that my love of country embraces the whole Union—in all that relates to the administration of the Government, I know no North, no South—each and every portion is alike entitled to its protection, and I have that confidence in this Administration to believe that it will receive it. I therefore think that our Southern brethren have made a great mistake in arraying themselves against the Government, for fear it will be improperly administered. And I had hoped that if peace could be maintained for a short time, until they could be convinced of their error, that they would voluntarily unite with us again. Or if that were impossible, that time might thus be gained for a National convention, which might so amend the Constitution as to enable us to separate without war. But if they commence an aggressive warfare, we have no alternative but to rally around the constituted authorities and defend the Government.

But no language can express my admiration of the noble patriotism displayed by the Union men of the border States. They stand like a rock in the midst of the ocean, against which the surges of secession beat in vain. Not moved by terror or seduced by an unholy ambition, they have formed a rampart for the protection of the Constitution. Their patriotism is as pure as the unsullied snow, and their loyalty is as incorruptible as virtue itself. If they ask further guarantees for any constitutional right which they may think endangered in consequence of their relative weakness by secession, I would cheerfully grant it. I feel that they deserve it; and no mere abstractions should induce me to withhold it. But I speak only for myself. The meeting will speak its own sentiments, and I wait its further pleasure.

ON RECEIVING A FLAG FOR

THE UNION CONTINENTALS

On July 4, 1861, Mrs. O. G. Steele, "in behalf of the ladies of 1812," presented to the Union Continentals,[1] under Mr. Fillmore's command, a Union flag. In receiving it Mr. Fillmore spoke in substance as follows:

Believe me, madam, when I assure you that I receive this gift from your hands as a present to the Union Continentals, not merely as a symbol of my country's nationality and glory; but what is still more gratifying to my heart, I receive it as a token of approbation from those friends and neighbors on whose behalf you present it. The symmetrical beauty, the rich material, and the exquisite workmanship, all attest the genius which designed, the generosity which provided, and the delicate skill which has wrought this splendid banner. It is truly imperial in all its appointments, and worthy of the ladies who have so generously and patriotically bestowed it.

1. Some note has been made (Fillmore Papers, Vol. I, Introduction) of this Buffalo organization and the services it rendered during the Civil War. Mr. Fillmore was its first captain. The flag mentioned here is now owned by the Buffalo Historical Society. It is of heavy silk, with gold fringe and the staff is composed of eighteen pieces of wood of various sorts native to America, typifying the eighteen States which constituted the Federal Union in 1812. "The flag as a whole was constructed under the immediate supervision of Mr. Jonathan Sidway and Dr. J. L. Trowbridge." Numerous papers relating to the Union Continentals, including minutes of meetings, etc., some of them in Mr. Fillmore's handwriting, are preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

PRESIDENT FILLMORE AS CAPTAIN OF THE UNION CONTINENTALS.

From a Photograph Taken September, 1862, Now Owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

The gift, I am told, is the donation of the women of Buffalo, who were here during the War of 1812,[1] and of their fair daughters. This allusion to that exciting period in the history of our city must awaken in your minds mingled emotions of pain and pleasure. This town was a frontier village, and you who were old enough to remember the events of that war, need no prompter to remind you of the miseries you endured and the horrors which you witnessed. Your village was an unfortified camp, and your nightly slumbers were disturbed by the booming of cannon, until you were forced to fly, in the midst of winter, by the light of your own dwellings, from a hostile foe. But phœnix-like, this proud city has arisen from the ashes, and by common consent boasts the proud appellation of "Queen City of the Lakes"; second to no other city in the State this side of New York.

On that dreadful night, when women and children fled in terror from the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage, the torch of the enemy spared only the widow's lonely cottage; and her descendants, and the descendants of many others who witnessed those horrid scenes, have been spared to unite with us in this patriotic act. This flag shall never be unfurled but for the protection of the innocent and the maintenance of the Constitution and laws.

Our thanks are also due to you, madam, for the gracious manner in which you have been pleased to confer this favor; and to you, sir,[2] for the eloquent address with which the presentation has been accompanied. And you will also, sir,

1. The following ladies, resident in Buffalo in 1812, were associated in the presentation of the banner: Mesdames Cyrenius Chapin, Ralph Pomeroy, Samuel Pratt, William Hodge, Dan Bristol, Ira Kibbe, Major Noble, Benjamin Bidwell, Foster Young, Sabina Howse, Lester Brace, Alvin Dodge, Ebenezer Walden, R. S. Heacock, A. S. Bemis, Josiah Trowbridge, Matilda S. Dickinson, Sarah T. Coburn, Esther P. Fox, Mary P. Burt, Sarah D. Gilbert, Parnell St. John Sidway, Louisa C. Weed, Katherine C. Warner, Sarah M. Davidson, Beulah G. Smith, Fanny A. Lay, Sarah M. Judson, Miles Jones, Orlando Allen, Sophia Pratt, O. G. Steele, John C. Lord, Walter H. Stanard, and Samuel H. Macy; and Misses Eliza G. Colton, Mary S. Colton and Sarah Hodge.

2. Rev. Dr. John C. Lord, who had introduced Mr. Fillmore to the audience. The exercises were held in the Central Presbyterian church, of which Dr. Lord was pastor.

permit me on my own behalf, to make my profound acknowledgment for the very flattering manner in which you have been pleased to speak of my position in this honorable body. But it is due to myself and to the men who compose the Continental phalanx before you, that I should not appropriate to myself even by my silence what properly belongs to them. I claim no merit for this organization. Every man in that venerable body which stands before you is entitled to more credit than I am. They organized this corps and called me to the duty which I perform. Theirs be the honor and theirs the mead of praise. I claim no other merit than that of a loyal heart, devoted soul and body to my country, and as ready to stand by its flag as a private citizen, as I should be were I Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States.

That venerated flag, the symbol of nationality and glory, must never succumb to a foreign foe or domestic rebellion.

"The Star Spangled Banner—
O, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free,
And the home of the brave."

AT THE OPENING OF THE

OLD BOARD OF TRADE ROOMS

The old Board of Trade rooms, Central Wharf, Buffalo, were opened to business June 26, 1862. During the exercises Mr. William Williams proposed as a toast, "Health and long life to the ex-President of the United States, Honorable Millard Fillmore."

Mr. Fillmore, in response to this sentiment said that he was wholly taken by surprise, and was prepared with no remarks suited to the occasion. He took pleasure, however, in congratulating the princely merchants of Buffalo on the revival of the Board of Trade in so magnificent a room. The Exchange is where business should be transacted, to save both time and money.

He asked permission, by way of comparison, to speak of a few of the Exchanges he had visited in Europe. He was invited to visit the Exchange in London, and found it in a small room not large enough to afford accommodations to the merchants, who transacted a large portion of their business out-of-doors in a yard. He then went to Lloyd's, the place where the immense insurance business of London is done. The room was not half as large as this. He asked why the place was called Lloyd's, and learned that years before, the insurance business used to be transacted in a small tavern on the banks of the Thames, kept by a man of this name, and that the insurance mart had ever since been called "Lloyd's."

He then spoke of the exchange in Hamburgh, one of the largest commercial cities on the globe. He was told that

he could not find a place in the main room, so he went into the gallery. From this, he looked down upon a room twice as large as this, crowded as full as it could be, and the din arising from it was like the roar of Niagara. There was not a desk to be seen, and he inquired how it was possible to transact business. He was pointed to the floor which was marked off like a checkerboard, on which every man had a square of about four feet, and which he always occupied or had a substitute in it. In this way all confusion is avoided, and every man does business "on the square." He suggested that when the business of Buffalo should develop its just proportions this plan might be adopted by our merchants.

He said he regarded this institution and the merchants of Buffalo as the life-blood of its prosperity. This is a good point for manufacturing and their growth should be studiously fostered; but when trade prospers everything prospers, and when it languishes all feel its depressing influence. "Buffalo in the progress of history is destined by its position to be what Alexandria and Venice were. The merchants of Buffalo, you who are now here, are to assist in giving our city this prosperity. Your names will go down to posterity in connection with this event, as marking one of the progressive strides toward the great and undeveloped future." The ex-President closed his speech with a courteous acknowledgment of the compliment given him, and his assurance of the love he cherished for the city and his gratification at such proof of her prosperity.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At American Hall, Buffalo, July 1, 1862, Mr. Fillmore delivered his inaugural address as first president of the Buffalo Historical Society:[1]

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY: When men erect a statue to commemorate the virtues of some distinguished civilian, or the heroism or gallantry of some great warrior, they inaugurate it with all due ceremony; and so a newly-elected President, before he enters upon his term of office, is usually inaugurated with great pomp and ceremony; and he generally indicates in an address the policy which he intends to pursue in administering the Government.

We cannot think of comparing this infant society, which has yet to win its fame, with such august events. Nevertheless, the Buffalo Historical Society having been organized, it seems fit and proper that it should be inaugurated; and we have met this evening for that purpose.

But the question is generally asked, why establish an Historical Society in Buffalo? We all know its history and that of the surrounding country. The town itself—as village and city—is scarcely older than its oldest inhabitant, and the whole of Western New York has been settled within the memory of men now living; and we can, therefore, learn its history by talking with our neighbors. Such persons may

1. Reprinted from Buffalo Historical Society *Publications*, Vol. I, 1879, now out of print.

say, that we do not require historical records to tell us all that we desire to know of the city and its inhabitants.

I grant that this may be true of some of this generation, but certainly not of all. Even now the inquisitive mind wishes to know a thousand things connected with the origin and expansion of this great city, and the labors of its enterprising inhabitants, of which it can find no authentic record. But even if all its present inhabitants knew, by tradition or actual observation, everything connected with the commencement and growth of this city, and the men who have acted a distinguished part on its theater, still this historical association would be necessary. It must be borne in mind, that its labors are not for the present generation merely, or chiefly, but rather for posterity.

"The object of this society," as expressed in its constitution, "is to discover, procure, and preserve whatever may relate to the history of Western New York, in general, and the city of Buffalo in particular." It is, therefore, apparent that the object of this society is not the study of history, either ancient or modern, general or local, or the formation of a library for that purpose; but its chief object is to collect and preserve the materials of history relating to Western New York, and especially to Buffalo, for future reference and use. Those who would learn the history of nations which have arisen, flourished and passed away, leaving nothing but a name, and the records and monuments of their works, to tell that they ever existed, and those who would trace the origin and history of the nations among which the earth is now divided, must seek that information from other sources than this society. Its object is not to teach, but to preserve history. And it is certainly a grateful task to commemorate the virtues of those who have built up this city and its noble institutions, and to be sure that their names shall not be forgotten. Now is the time to photograph their characters in all the lineaments of active life, that the generations who shall come after us may see them as we have seen them, and be stimulated to emulate their virtues, and if possible rival their enterprise.

The history of a city like this, naturally divides itself into two parts—material and personal; and the combination of these in due proportion constitutes its history. The material is first and most enduring; but the personal, which sketches individual life, and social, religious, charitable and political combinations, is much the most interesting; though the actors, like those in the theater, appear upon the stage but to perform the part assigned them by Providence in the great drama of life, and then pass from our view forever; but their works, material and moral, remain to bless or curse mankind, as they have been good or evil.

I am sure that it cannot be that any of us know all of Buffalo which we ought; and if we neglect our duty, posterity will know much less than we do. Buffalo! Is it not a strange name for a city? To our ears it is familiar, indicating only the name of a pleasant and beautiful city. But a foreigner, when you say you are from Buffalo, looks at you as though he thought the inhabitants of the place where you reside were buffalos, and you unavoidably feel that you would be glad to give some reason why this singular name has been attached to your place of residence. But who among us can tell? I am sure I cannot. I do not mean to say that it is difficult to ascertain how the city came by this name, for it is manifest that it took its name from the creek. But the question is, why was this stream that runs through our city called "Buffalo creek," and when and by whom was it thus christened? To this question I confess that I have never seen any satisfactory answer. I have never seen any reliable statement that the buffalo in his wild state was ever found in Western New York. I believe that his native haunt was the great prairies of the West, and nowhere else on this continent. It is true that early French travelers have spoken of seeing "wild cows," especially in the northern part of the State; but it is evident to my mind from their description, when they give any, that they meant either the moose or the elk. It is clear, then, that this name could not have arisen from the fact that this locality was once the haunt of the wild buffalo.

About 1845, the question of the origin of this name for the creek was considerably discussed in the papers of this city.[1] It seemed to be conceded by all those who professed to understand the Indian language, that it was not a translation of any Indian name for the creek; but, so far as appears, they had none, but called the place at or near the mouth of the creek, *"Tush-ua"* or *"Dush-ua,"* which all agree meant the place of the "peeled bass-woods"; so that we cannot trace this name to an aboriginal origin.[2]

The first historians after the Dark or Middle Ages, had apparently no difficulty in accounting for the origin of nations and cities and their names. For we are informed by an historian of great research, that "it was believed by every people that they were directly descended from ancestors who had been present at the siege of Troy. That was a proposition which no one thought of doubting. The only question was as to the details of such lineage. On this, however, there was a certain unanimity of opinion; since, not to mention inferior countries, it was admitted the French were descended from Francus, whom everybody knew to be the son of Hector; and it was also known that the Britons came from Brutus, whose father was no other than Æneas himself. They say that the capital of France was called after Paris, the son of Priam, because he fled there when Troy was overthrown; and that the city of Troyes was actually

1. *See* the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* July 29, 1845.

2. On the origin of the name of Buffalo, *see* the paper by William Ketchum, "Origin of the Name of Buffalo," Buffalo Historical Society *Publications,* Vol. I, in which the author calls attention to certain errors, of fact or inference, in this address by Mr. Fillmore; also correspondence on the subject by Rev. Asher Wright of the Seneca Mission and Nathaniel T. Strong, a Seneca chief, supplementing Mr. Ketchum's paper. Mr. Fillmore's examination of the subject was far from thorough. Numerous variants of the Indian name of Buffalo creek are given by Ketchum, O. H. Marshall ("Historical Writings") and others, but none of them give *"Tush-ua"* or *"Dush-ua."* In the Seneca, the creek was called *"Te-o-sah-way,"* "the place of basswoods"; in the Mohawk this was *"Te-hos-o-ro-ron"* or *"Te-hos-e-ro-ron."* [Ketchum.] Morgan ("League of the Iroquois") gives *"Do-sho-weh"* as the Seneca form. Marshall cites authorities for *"Te-hos-e-ro-ron"* and *"Do-se-o-way ga-hon-da,"* and *"Tu-se-o-wa."* (Alden's "Seneca Missions," p. 163.) *See also* on this subject, Dr. William M. Beauchamp's "Aboriginal Place Names of New York," New York State Museum Bulletin 108, pp. 56-63.

built by the Trojans, as the etymology of its name clearly proves." [Buckle, "History of Civilization," vol. i., pp. 224-5.]

Could I yield my convictions to fables like these, I might give credence to the story told in a paper called the *Pilot,* printed in this city, July 16, 1845, in which an anonymous writer, signing himself "O-me-ga," tells a fanciful story about some unknown and unnamed missionaries who camped near the mouth of the creek in a state of starvation, and sent out their hunters for game, who killed a horse belonging to the Indians, and served it up to the famishing missionaries as buffalo meat, and hence they called the stream "Buffalo creek." But I confess that this story, like those of the historians of France and England, appears too mythical to deserve any serious attention at the hands of the historian, and I fear that I am destined to pass down to the grave, without seeing the mystery explained of the origin of the name of "Buffalo creek," or when, or where, or by whom it was first applied to this stream.

But, having made this frank confession of my ignorance and despair, I trust that I shall be pardoned in offering a conjecture as to the probable origin of this name. I have searched the Indian treaties, and the public documents published by Congress and the State Legislature, and such books and maps as I have been able to find, and as far as my research extends, the name of "Buffalo creek" is first found in the first treaty made by the United States with the Six Nations of Indians who were the owners and occupants of Western New York.[1] This treaty was made at Fort Stanwix (now Rome), on October 22, 1784, immediately after the close of the Revolutionary war, at which time the whole country west of Utica was one unbroken wilderness. The military posts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit and Mackinaw, were then, and for more than ten years afterwards, in the occupation of the British troops. Little or nothing was

1. An earlier use of the name "Buffalo creek" for this stream, spelled exactly as we write it today, is on Capt. John Montresor's map of the outlet of Lake Erie, etc., July, 1764. The map is in the British Museum.

known of this particular locality. The course of trade with the Indians, was along the shore of Lake Ontario, generally along the north shore, as being the shortest route to Detroit, and so on west; and, consequently the traders had little or no inducement (as the military post at the upper end of Niagara river was at Fort Erie) to stop here; and if the creek had an Indian name it has not come down to us as distinct from the place of "peeled bass-woods." Who acted as scribe or interpreter at the council which formed that treaty, we know not, as all the minutes of its proceedings have been lost, and nothing but the treaty itself remains to explain what was done.

The chief object of the treaty seems to have been to fix the western boundary of the lands belonging to the Six Nations, and this place was made a point from which a line was to be run due south to the north line of Pennsylvania, as the western boundary of the Six Nations, and this locality was described in the treaty as "Tehosororan or Buffalo creek." Now it is apparent that *"Tehosororan"* was intended to be what the Indians here call *"Tushuway"* or *"Desoway,"* and the marked difference of spelling shows the bungling manner in which the interpreter spoke the Indian language, or the stupidity of the scribe in writing it down. This mistake in the Indian name may also prepare us to look out for a mistake in the English name, for it can hardly be supposed that an Indian interpreter spoke English better than Indian, and it therefore might naturally happen that a stupid scribe did not readily distinguish between the word "beaver" and "buffalo," especially when spoken by one who could not speak the English language plainly. I strongly suspect that the interpreter meant to say Beaver creek, but not speaking the language well, the scribe understood him "Buffalo creek," and so wrote it down, and inserted it in the treaty.

But you naturally ask why I suspect this mistake. I will tell you why. It does not appear that there was ever a buffalo here, and therefore there was nothing to suggest that name for the creek. The Indians never spoke of buffalos,

as I can find, in all their communications to the colonial authorities of New York, but they seemed to be most anxious about their "beaver hunting-grounds." They had no Buffalo tribe, but they had a Beaver tribe,[1] and it is far more probable that beavers were found on this creek than buffalos.

This suspicion is very much strengthened, if not confirmed, by the fact that Cornplanter, a very intelligent Indian chief, who was present at Fort Stanwix when this treaty was made, six years afterwards, in 1790, appealed to President Washington for relief on behalf of the Indians, and, in speaking of this treaty, he said: "You told us that the line drawn from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario would mark it forever on the east, and that the line running from *Beaver* creek would mark it on the west, and we see that it is not so." [1. American State Papers, Indian Affairs, p. 207.]

Thus, I say, it seems probable that the same blundering stupidity which converted *"Tushua"* into *"Tehosororan,"* changed Beaver into Buffalo, and that this was the time, place and manner in which this stream received the name of "Buffalo creek."

But the question may be asked: "Why, if this mistake was made, was it not corrected?" How could it be? The Indians were too ignorant of letters to know that any mistake had been made, as is evident from the fact that Cornplanter called it Beaver creek six years afterwards, and the ignorance of the whites as to the true name precluded all possibility of correcting the mistakes at that time; and the natural course of events soon fixed it beyond the power of correction, for the treaty was published as a law, and sent all over the country; but Cornplanter's address to President Washington was probably not published till forty years afterwards.

Thus you will perceive, if my conjecture be correct, that Fort Stanwix was the place, and the making of the treaty

1. Referring to the clan or relationship organization of the Iroquois peoples. Originally, with reference to marriage, there were the Wolf, Bear, Beaver and Turtle tribes. The Senecas had these four, and also the Deer, Snipe, Heron and Hawk tribes; but there was no Buffalo or Bison tribe.

of 1784, the occasion, for christening Buffalo creek, whether the god-fathers who assisted on that occasion, mistook the intended name or not. There the name originated, and there it was first applied. But I concede that this is only a conjecture; and the most that I can hope is, that it will stimulate some member of the society, fond of antiquarian research, to pursue this investigation, and, if possible, either confirm or explode this theory, and settle the true origin of the name of Buffalo upon a firm, historical basis.[1]

But I beg of you, gentlemen, not to infer from anything which I have said that I do not like the name of Buffalo. However it may sound to foreign ears, to me it signifies everything which I love and admire in a city, beautiful, clean, healthy, warm in winter and cool in summer; but, above all, it is my home, and the home of the friends I love best, where my days have been spent, and my bones shall repose.

It is, probably, known to most of you, that three attempts have been made to fasten the name of Amsterdam upon some locality in this State. The first was the city of New York, which was called New Amsterdam; and it retained this name until the jurisdiction passed from Holland to Great Britain in 1664, when it was changed to New York. The second was Amsterdam, as the name of a township in Montgomery County, in 1793, which name it still retains, as also does the principal village of the town, formerly called Veedersburgh. The third and last effort was made here. When the original plot for this city was surveyed, about 1801 to 1803, the agents of the Holland Land Company, the proprietors of all this region of country, named the place, on their maps, "New Amsterdam," in compliment to the Dutch owners. But it is quite apparent, that this did not suit the first settlers here. The name of "Buffalo Creek" had then become well established. Congress, in 1805, established a collection district here by that name; and I have

1. For some further facts and speculations on this subject, *see* Mr. Fillmore's correspondence with Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan and others, printed in subsequent pages of this collection.

seen a letter from Joseph Ellicott, the Holland Land Company's local agent, dated August 24, 1807, in which, speaking of the lots of this village, he calls it "New Amsterdam, *alias* Buffalo."

Thus was the name, probably by some public act of the inhabitants themselves, transferred from the creek to the village, and, probably, about this time it became the popular name of the place. But the first legal recognition which I find of it, is in the law of the State Legislature, establishing the county of Niagara, passed March 11, 1808, in which "Buffalo or New Amsterdam" is named as the county seat, on condition that the Holland Land Company would give land for the public buildings, and erect the same, which they did.

In 1810, the town of Buffalo was established, and in 1813 the village of Buffalo was incorporated; but it was burned the same year, and was not re-organized till 1815. A new charter was obtained in 1822, and it was finally incorporated as a city in 1832, since which time the charter has been frequently amended so as to include more territory; swallowing up in its voracious growth the surrounding villages, including its old and once formidable rival, Black Rock.

Thus much for the extraordinary name of our city. But even in this we are not wholly without precedent. Classical history gives us the name of *Bosporus,* meaning an *ox-passage,* for the narrow strait which separates Asia from Europe; *Oxford,* meaning a *ford* for *oxen,* is the name of one of the great collegiate cities of England; and *Berne,* the capital of Switzerland, means *bear,* and two or three of these uncouth animals are constantly kept there at the public expense as mementos. When I saw them, they were in a deep vault or excavation, which was surrounded by a wall, open at the top, and these singular pets were amusing themselves by climbing a pole in the center, and catching fruit thrown to them by the spectators. I trust that we shall not imitate the Bernese example, by keeping two or three wild

buffalos, for they would be exceedingly inconvenient where all animals are permitted to run at large.[1]

But, dismissing this subject, let us turn for a moment to the original plan of our city, and see how far the design has been carried out. By looking at an original map you will perceive that a certain portion of the ground was laid out in small lots, called "inner lots," numbering in all upwards of two hundred; and outside of these inner lots, larger lots were laid out, called "outer lots," to the number of about one hundred and fifty. The inner lots were bounded on the north by Chippewa street; on the southwest by the Terrace; on the east by Ellicott street; and were evidently intended to be occupied by the dwellings, stores and shops of the citizens; while the outer lots were intended as pasture-ground for their cattle. But how strangely all this has been reversed. We now see the cattle and swine, which from their numbers apparently come from the surrounding country, daily feeding upon or rooting up the beautiful grass plots about our houses in the very heart of the city, which we have taken so much pains to make an attractive ornament to the town. How our Common Council have been able to legislate so much with a view of remedying this crying evil, without apparently producing the least effect, will form an interesting chapter in the future history of the "mysteries" of this city. I hope, for the honor of our city fathers and its police, as well as for the instruction of posterity, that some Diedrich Knickerbocker will give it to the world in all its grotesque significance.

But there is another thing connected with the original plan of our city, that may not be familiar to all. How many lawyers in the city, if shown a deed, bounding land on Busti and Vollenhoven's avenues, could tell where to locate it? We are a people fond of novelty, and where we cannot

1. But this has now come to pass, apparently with public approval; and although Buffalo's small herd of bison are not "permitted to run at large," except in their own ample quarters in a park far beyond the range of popular resort in Mr. Fillmore's day, yet the fact that they are kept at all is probably attributable to the same sort of sentiment that keeps the bears at Berne or the wolves in Rome—an association, in the popular mind, of the animal with the name or history of the city.

change the *thing,* we change the *name.* This propensity has been singularly exemplified during the present Civil War.[1] Ships and forts have changed their names so often, that, to a stranger, the history of the war must be a perfect "comedy of errors." We must not therefore be surprised to find that the early settlers in Buffalo, after getting rid of the name of New Amsterdam for their village, proceeded to demolish the jaw-breaking names of the streets, and to substitute more euphonious ones in their places. Hence they call North and South Onondaga, Washington street; North and South Oneida, Ellicott street; Van Staphorst and Willink avenues, Main street; North and South Cayuga, Pearl street; Tuscarora, Franklin street; Messissagua,[2] Morgan street; Schimelpenninck avenue, Niagara street; Stadnitski avenue, Church street; Vollenhoven's avenue, Erie street; Cazenovia avenue, Court street; and Busti avenue, Genesee street. But I am bound to say that I regard these as beneficial changes, though the knowledge of the original names should be preserved to illustrate public records and past history. One change, however, was made, for which there was no necessity, and which I cannot but regret, viz.: that of Crow street to Exchange. Possibly our city fathers supposed this street had been named after that cunning but troublesome bird whose name it bears; but this, I am assured, is not so, since the street was named after John Crow, one of the earliest settlers, who resided on that street, and it is due to his memory that it should have retained his name.

I shall mention but one other feature in the original plan of this city, and that is, as you will see by the map, the large lot No. 104, occupying the whole space on the east side of

1. One instance, which could scarcely have been gratifying to Mr. Fillmore, was to be found in New Orleans, where, in April, 1861, the school board of the third district changed the name of the "Fillmore School" to the "Jefferson Davis School."

2. Mr. Fillmore's spelling is here followed, but in the city records this street was spelled "Missisauga." This street illustrates a characteristic of Buffalo from the earliest days—a frequent changing of street names. Thus, present Morgan street has been at different times, Webster street, Mississippi street, and Missisauga street, with an infinite variety of spelling for the last designation. Very many of Buffalo's streets have had a like protean career, somewhat to the confusion of history if not of land titles.

Main street, between Eagle and Swan streets, and running back two-thirds of a mile, containing one hundred acres, and bounding on Main street with a semi-circle in front of the Churches.

This boundary would have carried Main street around this semi-circle, and would thus have enabled the owner to erect a palace on this semi-circle, from the observatory of which he could look up and down Main street, down Erie and Church streets to the lake, and down Niagara street to Black Rock and Canada. It is said that this magnificent lot was laid out by Joseph Ellicott for his own use. It was certainly a noble conception, and I cannot but regret that he was not permitted to carry it out, for the life of a man is nothing in comparison to the life of a city, and he would soon have passed away, leaving a splendid building for the display of the fine arts, and a beautiful park in the midst of our city. But the democratic spirit of the time, which looked not to the future, was naturally jealous of such a baronial establishment, and cut the beautiful semi-circle, running Main street through it instead of around it. Mr. Ellicott, feeling the indignity, gave up the project, and never made Buffalo his residence; and this lot was finally divided by North and South Division streets, and surveyed into small lots, and sold out to settlers. Thus the last hope for an extensive park in the midst of our city vanished.

But, turning from the material history of Buffalo, on which I have said more than I intended, let us for a moment glance at its personal history; and here time admonishes me that I must be brief.

This naturally begins with the red man of the forest. Tradition says that a nation called "Neuter" once inhabited this region, occupying a space between the Senecas on the east, and the Eries or Cat Indians on the west; but which, like the Eries, was either driven off or exterminated by its more warlike and powerful neighbors. All that we know of the Neuter nation is, perhaps, too vague and shadowy to enter into reliable history. But not so with the Seneca nation, which succeeded to the territory of the Neutrals.

The Seneca Nation was the most numerous and powerful of the Six Nations, and its history may be traced with tolerable accuracy for near two hundred years. Who has not heard of Farmer's Brother, the brave and sagacious warrior, the calm and judicious statesman, and the eloquent orator? His residence was at Farmer's Point on the Big Buffalo creek, just below the railroad bridge. I am told, by those who knew him, that in addition to those striking intellectual gifts, which marked him as one of nature's noblemen, he possessed a gigantic and well-proportioned frame, and moved with a majestic air, which said to all observers that he was born to command. Though he lacked the cultivation of civilized life, and the grace which Christianity alone can bestow, yet, as an untutored savage, one might look at him and say to all the world, "Every inch a king."

So of Cornplanter. Though a half-breed, he was an Indian by education and habit; brave in battle, wise in council, and firm in purpose; faithful to his friends and implacable to his enemies. No man can read his eloquent appeal to President Washington, in December, 1790, in which he set forth the wrongs done to his then humbled and supplicating nation, without feeling that his simple eloquence touches a cord of sympathy that vibrates in alternate pity and resentment. His residence was on a reservation given him by the State of Pennsylvania, on the Allegheny river; but much of his public life was spent in attending councils in this vicinity. I saw him once, an aged man, bending under the weight of ninety years; yet he brought to my office, in his saddle-bags, all the treaties, on parchment, with his nation, and spread them out very deliberately on the floor; and then, commencing with the first, he gave me, through an interpreter, a succinct history of each, and concluded by saying, in his own expressive language, that the "Indians were very *hungry* for their annuities."

Though there are many others whose biographies should be preserved by this society, yet I shall mention but one more and that is Red Jacket, the celebrated Indian orator.

He lived and died and was buried in our vicinity. His life has been written by W. L. Stone, but the book is nearly out of print. It should be preserved among the archives of this society. He was nature's orator, and rose by his oratorical powers alone, from the lowest grade to the rank of chief; and he exercised a powerful influence in the councils of his nation. But his fame, like that of Patrick Henry, must rest mostly on tradition. His figures of speech were bold, beautiful and striking; but, of course, we have only the skeleton of them in the meagre translation of ignorant interpreters, who were not skilled either in the Indian or English language. I have often wished that I understood his language, and could hear him on some great occasion that called forth his utmost powers, that I might compare him with some of our own orators whose fame is destined to live forever.

The first time I saw him was in this town in 1822. I had read some of his speeches, heard much of his fame, and I looked up to him with a kind of juvenile reverence, such as boys are apt to feel for great men at a distance. I solicited and obtained an introduction, and he evidently felt flattered by the reverential awe with which I looked at him, for I could not converse with him. He drew himself up with great dignity, and ostentatiously pointed to a silver medal suspended upon his breast, and in a few words of broken English and with evident pride and satisfaction, gave me to understand it was a present from Washington, whom he called his friend.[1]

A few hours after, my attention was called to him again, and I saw him, apparently unconscious, being dragged along by two Indians, who laid him under the shadow of a pile of boards, and left him. He had tasted the Circean draught, and was transformed to a beast. I could not help exclaiming: "Oh! that men should put an enemy into their mouths, to steal away their brains." All the imaginary splendor with which my youthful fancy had adorned this Indian orator, vanished in a moment. Alas! how often is it the case

1. This medal, given by Washington to Red Jacket in 1792, is now owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

that a nearer view of greatness discovers defects which we did not see at a distance. So the traveler, viewing the Alps at a distance, fancies that they present a beautifully-rounded surface, which he can walk over with ease; but when he approaches them he finds them deformed, with rough, projecting crags and deep gorges, that obstruct his passage.

But, turning from the aboriginals, who would not like to know something of the earlier settlers in this region? Fifty years ago, the "Holland Purchase" was the land of promise. Men gathered here from the four points of the compass, and before society amalgamated, or could be toned down by attrition, there were many striking original characters. It is not too late to rescue from oblivion some sketches of these extraordinary men, and daguerreotype the leading traits of their characters for the amusement and instruction of posterity. Many of these men, who have left their mark upon our institutions, could not boast of much book-learning; but they knew the world, and had the courage and talent that fitted them to fight successfully the great battle of life.

The three liberal professions, Divinity, Law and Medicine, had also their representatives in our infant city; to which may well be added a fourth, the public press, which is peculiarly rich in historic reminiscences. The names of these persons are too numerous to mention here, and to select some might appear invidious. I therefore pass them over, and call your attention to the various religious and charitable institutions, the histories of some of which have already been ably given to the public and to these the others should be added.

But, above all, the history of this city, during the War of 1812, should be written and preserved among the archives of this society. It is a dark and bloody chapter, filled with the horrors of a conflagration of the town in mid-winter and the misery of the fugitives flying from the terrific scene, and the tomahawk and scalping-knife. But even this dark picture may be relieved by some deeds of heroism and generosity.

Finally, let this institution be the grand repository of everything calculated to throw light on our history. Books, newspapers, letters, pamphlets, maps, medals, and relics of every description, should be deposited here; and let our citizens unite heart and hand in building up this society, which, while it does justice to the dead, reflects honor upon the living.

ADDRESS AT THE

CHRISTIAN COMMISSION FAIR

At the inauguration of the Great Central Fair in Buffalo, under the auspices of the Christian Commission, opened in St. James Hall, February 22, 1864, the following address was delivered by ex-President Fillmore:

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Great Central Fair of Buffalo: I congratulate you on the return of this auspicious day. It is the anniversary of the birth of Washington, the Father of his Country, of whom it has been truly said, he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Many of you who were here thirty-two years ago today, when this proud city was just emerging from the chrysalis state of a country village and assuming the title, if not the regalia of the Queen City of the Lakes, will recollect with what enthusiasm and gorgeous display the centennial anniversary[1] was celebrated in this city. An immense procession, with banners and music, traversed our streets. Agriculture had then its rude implements carried in the train; but there were no mowing machines, no reaping machines, and no threshing machines. The few mechanic arts which were then struggling for a foothold in this rising town, living on hope, rather than enjoying the full fruition of their labor, were represented by their appropriate banners and tools; but nothing that indicated the presence of the railroads, or

1. The centennial of Washington's birth was February 22, 1832. Buffalo was born—as a city—April 20, 1832. Buffalo's civic anniversaries, therefore, are always, so far as the year is concerned, Washington anniversaries as well.

the gigantic power of stationary steam engines, or that mine of wealth now found in the iron manufactures of our city. The printing press moved along in the procession, throwing off its sheets to the eager multitude that they might read and run; but it dispensed no telegraphic news of startling importance to be contradicted the next day; but nevertheless it was a joyous, happy occasion, for the nation was at peace, blessed with prosperity, and as yet no parricidal hand had plunged a dagger into the heart of the Constitution. All was joy—all was hope—all was prosperity.

Since then, railroads have been built; telegraphs invented and constructed, till the whole country is checkered with these facilities of travel and correspondence, and numerous labor-saving machines have been invented and brought into use, and our beloved country has enjoyed years of prosperity and happiness.

But now, alas! all this is changed. Three years of civil war have desolated the fairest portion of our land, loaded the country with an enormous debt that the sweat of millions yet unborn must be taxed to pay; arrayed brother against brother, and father against son in mortal combat; deluged our country with fraternal blood, whitened our battle-fields with the bones of the slain, and darkened the sky with the pall of mourning. Yet these appalling calamities—which as yet have touched our city more lightly than any other in the land—have imposed upon us new duties which must be promptly met and generously discharged; and new burdens which must be patiently and cheerfully borne.

We can not, in our humble capacity, control the events of this desolating war. We hear its thunders and mark the track of desolation, and we must meet the emergency as best we can; but never despair of the Republic. It is no time now to enquire whether it might have been avoided. Let those who seek light on this subject, read Washington's Farewell Address. Nor are we now to criticise the conduct of those who control it, awarding praise here and bestowing censure there. The impartial historian will do this when the passions engendered by the strife have cooled, and par-

tisan prejudice, petty jealousies, malignant envy, and intriguing, selfish ambition shall be laid in the dust, and, it is hoped, buried in oblivion. And much less are we called upon to predict when or how this war will end. Let those who seek light on this subject, read General Jackson's Farewell Address.[1]

But let us hope that an all-wise and merciful Providence will incline the hearts of the people, North and South, to peace—to a lasting peace, with a restored Union, cemented by fraternal affection, under our well-tried and glorious Constitution.

Nor is this the time or place to express an opinion as to the policy that should be pursued to reach so desirable an end. But one thing is clear, that much must be forgiven, if not forgotten, on both sides, before this Union can ever be restored; and therefore, it is to be hoped that all unnecessary acts of cruelty, or wanton destruction of private property, or insult, or insolence in triumphing over a fallen foe should be avoided; for all such acts only fire the heart of our adversary with resentment and revenge, and thus protract the war, increase its horrors, and leave a sting which will render reunion more difficult, if not impossible.

But it must be apparent to all that the first step towards bringing this war to a close, is to conquer the rebel army. Any negotiations for peace before this is done would prove abortive; and any proffered clemency to those in arms who defy our power, would be a mockery which would be treated with ridicule and contempt. But when we have conquered their armies, and disposed of their leaders, then let us show our magnanimity and generosity by winning back the deluded multitude who have been seduced or coerced into this

1. General Jackson's prediction, in the Farewell Address referred to, was that agitation of subjects which would estrange North from South—specifically, slavery—would lead inevitably to disruption and the destruction of the Government. "If the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider. . . . The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up; and this great and glorious Republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty States," etc. Mr. Fillmore shared Jackson's views—and as the Civil War showed, both were mistaken.

rebellion, by extending to them every act of clemency and kindness in our power, and by restoring them to all their rights under the Constitution. This I conceive to be Christian forgiveness and the best policy and the only one which can ever restore this Union.

But to accomplish this, the Administration must be supported in all constitutional efforts to conquer and disperse the rebel army; and here let me remark that present appearances indicate a more bloody campaign the ensuing season than we have yet had. The course of events has done much to incite the South and intensify its hatred to the North, and desperation will lend energy and boldness to their efforts. It is never wise to underestimate the power of your adversary. We must, therefore, give up the contest and consent to dissolution, which, I venture to say, no man who loves his country is prepared to do, or we must send an army into the field sufficiently strong to insure success; for if we do not conquer and disperse the rebel army the ensuing campaign, the war may be protracted indefinitely, and finally end in a separation, dishonor and utter ruin of the country.

I say, therefore, that the Administration must have sufficient men and money, and this, though we may not always approve of the use that is made of either. We can only act in this matter as through the powers that be. Any other course would produce counter-revolution that would end in anarchy.

And there is nothing which we can do at this time which will give more aid than to provide for the wants, physical and spiritual, of the sick and wounded soldier. Let him feel when he goes to the battle-field, that we appreciate the sacrifices he makes and the dangers he is to encounter. Let him know that we think he takes his life in his hands from patriotic motives, to save us and our country, and that he is followed in his perilous undertaking by our affectionate prayers for his welfare and success, and that we are doing what we can at home to provide against the casualties of war and assuage the griefs of sickness. And especially let this be done, as it is here, by the women of our land. Remember

that every soldier has a mother, a sister, a wife, or a sweetheart, and it is to him an inspiring thought that she is watching his progress and ministering to his wants. Such a thought will nerve his arm in battle and mitigate his sufferings in sickness, and do more than aught else to keep him in the path of virtue.

Therefore, my dear friends, go on with your good work. Your sisters are engaged in like efforts in every town and city in the land. Let there be generous rivalry and no jealousies. Let no one envy the success of a rival society, but rather seek to emulate it in its efforts to do good. There is work enough for all, and God's blessing will follow those who give their time and money with a willing and generous hand, for the sole object of relieving want and assuaging grief. This is a work for all—even the Quakers and non-resistants may and should join you here.

I know that your efforts have been great. I know that you have spared no pains or labor, and I trust that your noble and praiseworthy exertions will be crowned with success. I can truly say that I am proud of my countrywomen for what they have done, and for what they are doing to mitigate the evils of war. Many have left their comfortable homes and dear friends, and become nurses—aye, ministering angels—in our hospitals, watching over the dying soldier with maternal tenderness, and catching his last affectionate whisper to be transmitted to loved ones at home. England is proud, and justly proud, of her Florence Nightingale. The fame of the warrior is supposed to be the most enduring, but the names of the commanders of the Crimean armies will be buried in oblivion when that of Florence Nightingale will shine with undiminished lustre. And has not America her Nightingales? Yes, many, though less conspicuous; but she has one who has devoted her life to alleviate the sufferings of humanity, and many a State lunatic asylum attests her disinterested devotion. Since this war began she has given her days and nights without compensation to the service of the hospitals. She is a true and noble type of womanhood, whose disinterested and humane

efforts are only equalled by her retiring modesty and feminine delicacy, and when justice shall be done to those noble women who have devoted their best energies to relieve the sufferings "which flesh is heir to," the name of Miss Dix[1] will be no less conspicuous and deserving than that of Florence Nightingale.

But you are all Dixes and Nightingales in your several spheres, and He who judges the heart and the deed will reward you according to your merits.[2]

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1. Dorothea L. Dix, famous for her work for paupers and the insane, and in the prisons and hospitals for Union prisoners during the Civil War.

2. This address is here printed as it appeared in the Buffalo *Morning Express,* February 24, 1864. It is practically identical with the report as given by the *Courier* and *Commercial,* of which the latter journal said: "The only thing that marred the harmony of the proceedings . . . was the speech of its venerable president, ex-President Fillmore. We give his remarks as *toned down* . . . We should have been glad to have placed upon record some words from Mr. Fillmore which would have identified him with the friends of the Government and the Union, instead of being obliged to class him, as we now do, amongst the bitterest opponents of the war and its conduct, in the infamous circle made up of such men as Vallandigham, the Woods, the Seymours and the Brooks[es]." (*Commercial Advertiser,* February 23, 1864.) A few days later (March 7) the same paper said: "There is no doubt that Mr. Fillmore discovered from the reception of his remarks that he had gone too far in his advances toward Copperheadism, and with characteristic caution he undertook to beat a retreat by striking out some of the most offensive portions when he prepared his speech for the press. Our remarks, at that time, were simply a reflex of the public sentiment, and we have not a word of regret to express for the part we took in the controversy; though we did then and do now, regret that the occasion should have been seized by Mr. Fillmore, for such an untimely and unseemly exhibition of insane craving after a lost political position, even at the expense of all those principles which had made him what he was, and secured him the respect, at least, of the whole country. So long as Mr. Fillmore contented himself with that retired position in the political world which he is so eminently calculated to adorn, he was entitled to the consideration due to the dignity of his personal character, and to the remembrance of the high official station he once held. No one has been more ready to accord this respectful consideration than we have; and certainly no community could have evinced a greater pride in one of its eminent citizens than has this community in Mr. Fillmore. Indeed, we might almost say, that this respect on the part of our citizens, has been likely to degenerate into the merest toadyism. It was reserved for Mr. Fillmore himself to shatter the idol thus reared in his home." The heat in which these words were written was slow in subsiding; but it did for the most part die out, long before the decade which remained of Mr. Fillmore's span of life had passed; though certain of his neighbors and former friends, themselves intensely and nobly loyal to the Union, could never see that there might also be loyalty in the attitude of Mr. Fillmore. The generation which has grown up since the Civil War can form little conception of the bitter reproach carried in the epithet "Copperhead." Yet that this eminent citizen, to whom that obnoxious epithet was so freely applied, held ever to lofty and consistent views of patriotism and the duty of the citizen, must be the verdict of any study of his career which is made without prejudice.

REMINISCENCES OF ASA RICE

A PIONEER LAWYER OF BUFFALO

In the early days of the Buffalo Historical Society the members met at each other's houses and listened to papers which presented some phase of early Western New York history. At such a meeting, on the evenings of February 13 and 20, 1865, Mr. Fillmore gave the following reminiscences of two early lawyers of Buffalo with whom he was associated at the beginning of his own legal career—Asa Rice and Joseph Clary.[1]

GENTLEMEN: This society having assigned to me the task of preparing a biographical sketch of Asa Rice, I shall proceed to the discharge of that duty without apology or circumlocution: But it is due to the subject of this sketch that I should explain why it is so brief and meager of incident.

Mr. Rice has been dead more than forty years, and few remain who were old enough to appreciate his talents when he stood among the first, if he was not the very first, advocate at the bar of Erie County. I have sought in vain for any one who knew the day or place of his birth or anything of his genealogy. I am, therefore, compelled to omit these interesting, though comparatively unimportant events. But for this I find a celebrated precedent. Plutarch, the classic biographer of Greece and Rome, wrote the life of Julius Cæsar, one of the greatest men of antiquity, in which he

1. The papers on Asa Rice and Joseph Clary are here printed from Mr. Fillmore's original manuscript, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

gives neither the time nor place of his birth; and although historians have given us his birth 100 years before the Christian Era, yet no one whose work has fallen under my observation, has given the place of his nativity.

Justifying myself, therefore, under this illustrious example of omission, I proceed to state the little I have been able to learn of the life and character of Asa Rice.

I find in the Buffalo *Patriot* of Tuesday, June 3, 1823, under the obituary head the following announcement:

"DIED, in this village, on Wednesday last, Asa Rice, Esq., Counsellor at law, of a pulmonary disease, aged 35."

If this notice be correct—and I see no reason to doubt it—he was born some time in the year 1788, and died in Buffalo on the 28th of May, 1823.

From the best information I can obtain he—like many other men of our country who have distinguished themselves at the bar and in the Senate—lacked the advantages of a classic education. I say advantages, for I have often keenly felt them to be such, though they are not always indispensable to success. He studied his profession with those eminent lawyers, Messrs. Gould & Sill of Whitesborough, Oneida County, and was probably admitted as an attorney to the Supreme Court about 1812 or 1813, when he settled at Eagle village, in Manlius, Onondaga County. He probably resided there till the winter or spring of 1817, when he removed to Buffalo. Learning from some letters that James R. Lawrence, Esq., a distinguished member of the bar in Syracuse, had some connection with him in business while he resided at Manlius, I addressed a letter of inquiry to him, and as his reply gives about all I have been able to learn of Mr. Rice's life while there, I shall give what he says on this subject in his own words:

SYRACUSE, Decr. 6, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 2d instant, in relation to the biography of the late Asa Rice, Esq. I knew Mr. Rice well while he resided in this county and often saw him and his wife in Buffalo after he removed there. I was connected with him in busi-

ness to some extent in 1814 at Eagle village in the town of Manlius in this county. The late Sheldon Smith, Esq., afterwards mayor of your city, was then a student in the office of Mr. Rice.

You are correct in saying that Mr. Rice studied his profession with Gold & Sill, Esqrs., of Whitesborough, but I know nothing of his history before that, nor that of his family, except that I have often heard of his brother, who was somewhat distinguished as a lawyer in Washington County, as I supposed—you say Troy—and perhaps he removed to Troy. I can only say of Mr. Rice that he was an astute and able lawyer; a strong and logical reasoner—more solid than brilliant; a good English scholar, and few men were more successful before a jury. I attributed his success in this respect to his well-known integrity of character; the clearness of his deductions, and illustrations; the candor he exhibited, accompanied by a peculiar grace and solemn manner which seemed almost irresistible. The bar of this county at that time consisted of many of the most eminent lawyers in the State, among whom I name Nicholas P. Randal of Manlius village, Daniel Kellogg of Skeneatelas, Medad Curtis of Onondaga, Joshua Forman and William H. Sabin of Onondaga Hollow. Mr. Rice never feared to encounter any of them, although by many years his seniors.

He was a remarkably diligent student, and never went to the trial or argument of a cause of any considerable magnitude, without a brief carefully and laboriously prepared.

At that time we had but few Chancery lawyers, and Mr. Rice was early admitted to practice in that court, and did most of the business in that department originating in Madison County and considerable in this.

Eagle village, where he resided, was then one of our largest villages; the place of business of Chas. B. Bristol, one of our largest merchants and business men, and but eight miles from Cazenovia (the then county seat of Madison County). Mr. Rice's professional business was as much in that as in this county, but it was too small a place for his ambition; he saw your Queen City in the distance and resolved to go there. But it was obvious to his friends that disease (dyspepsia) was upon him to an alarming extent before he left here; which I always attributed to his close confinement to his office. It never left him. When I saw him last at Buffalo he was confined to his house, and was aware of the feeble tenure of his life. He talked about it freely, philosophically and calmly—expressed his willingness to go hence whenever it pleased his Maker. You know the results. As ever your friend,

JAMES R. LAWRENCE.

My acquaintance with Mr. Rice was only for a single year. I first knew him in March, 1822, when I entered his office as a student at law. He was then a partner of his brother-in-law, Joseph Clary, whose sister he had married, and they occupied a small one-story wooden building—probably built expressly for a law office—on the east side of Main street a little north of the corner of Lafayette street; and I think his dwelling-house was at or near the northwest corner of Main and Chippewa streets.

In personal appearance, Mr. Rice was a man of medium height, rather spare, dark or sallow complexion, black hair, and keen black eyes; and already showing unmistakable signs of that fell disease which terminated his life. I regard consumption as one of the most deceitful and treacherous "ills that flesh is heir to." It seems to sport with human life as the cat does with her victim; now loosening its grasp and giving hope to the sufferer and his friends, but never suffering its victim to escape, it suddenly dashes our hopes, mocks at our disappointment and consigns its wretched victim to the grave. This sad anticipation was upon him when I first knew him, and though it doubtless impaired his energies, yet he was always cheerful and genial and devoted himself to the duties of his profession with untiring industry. He was a very successful advocate before a jury and probably for reasons assigned by General Lawrence. He was a professor of religion and I think a member of the First Presbyterian Church in this city. His intercourse with society was frank, cordial and pleasant and won the confidence and good feeling of his clients.

He was not only distinguished for his logical and argumentative powers but also for his ready wit and repartee. One well authenticated anecdote that is told of him will illustrate this. There was an odd genius living here at that time by the name of Beebe who had such a desire to attract attention that he painted his store black, and he seemed to delight in every vulgar art that gave him notoriety. Beebe had got a yearling colt in the spring when he had about half shed his coat, with his tail and mane full of burdock burrs,

and after bespattering this ragged, woe-begone animal well with mud he placed a pair of leather spectacles or goggles upon him and thus caparisoned was leading him through the street when he met Mr. Rice, who said to him in a jocular way:

"What have you got there, Mr. Beebe?"

To which Beebe replied, "A pettifogger."

"Ah! I thought so," said Mr. Rice, "by the looks of his client."

The bar of this county was at that time somewhat distinguished for its talent and originality. Not to mention the few who survive, there was Albert H. Tracy, then a popular Representative in Congress, a well-read and indefatigable lawyer, who, though more fluent in conversation than when speaking in public, was an able and astute reasoner, and a most plausible and successful advocate before a jury.

There was Judge Walden, who, though he said nothing, "looked unutterable things"; a man of sound judgment and unsullied integrity, who was most cordially hated by James Sheldon, who delighted in holding him up to ridicule. One instance of this will show the *animus* and mode of execution. Judge Walden was our Member of Assembly and while attending the session, Mr. Sheldon visited Albany, and when come back was asked how Walden was getting on in the Assembly.

"Well," said Sheldon, "about as well as could be expected. While I was in Albany I met a boy with a basketful of pamphlets, crying Mr. Walden's speech in the Assembly. So I bought one, and on opening it I found all but the title-page an entire blank, and feeling myself cheated, I turned to the boy and said, 'You little rascal, there is nothing in this.' The boy putting his thumb to his nose replied, 'Just what he said, sir'."

Then there was Thomas C. Love, great on great occasions when his feelings and sympathies were fully aroused, but chiefly noted for his untiring industry and unswerving integrity; a hard speaker with an awkward address and manner, but withal a successful practitioner.

And lastly—for I can not name more—there was old Counsellor Root, who drank whiskey and made more witty speeches than any other member of the bar. The anecdotes of him are numerous and well authenticated, but some were not very refined, and would hardly bear repetition here. One, however, though occurring at Batavia, I will venture to repeat by way of illustration.

Mr. Root was summing up a cause before a jury in the Common Pleas, when one of the side judges thought he misstated the testimony and he interrupted Mr. Root, when the following colloquy took place:

Judge—Mr. Root, you do not state that testimony correctly; the witness did not swear as you say he did.

Root (turning contemptuously to the Court)—I think your Honor *lies*—(a long pause)—under a little mistake.

Judge (assuming a magisterial air)—Mr. Root, you must put your words a little closer together. You must recollect that this is a court of justice and we do not sit here to be insulted.

Root—This a court of justice! I would that there was but a guide-board on the side of this court pointing towards justice.

Judge—Mr. Root, sit down, you are drunk.

Root—Right, your Honor! It is the only correct decision your Honor has made this term.

With all these and many others Mr. Rice had to contend, and yet neither his self-possession nor his resources ever failed him. On the contrary, he was always equal to the occasion. In addressing a jury his plausible manner was such that an old farmer in my hearing called him *"the smoothing plane."* He had more than his share, I should think, of all litigated business, but that was not then so profitable as collecting, and of this he got very little: for I regret to say, though truth compels me to do so, that he had a failing, unfortunately too common to many great men—he neglected his pecuniary obligations until he lost his credit, and finally became insensible to the shame and dishonor that attached to his habitual failure; until he was

charged by many with intentional dishonesty. He even neglected to pay over his clients' money which had come into his hands, and consequently lost the most profitable business of his profession, and went down to the grave with this stigma upon his reputation, a dreadful warning to all young men to maintain an unsullied reputation for promptness and punctuality in all moneyed transactions. But I must do him the justice to say that I do not think he was intentionally dishonest. This negligent habit had commenced early in life, growing with his growth and strengthening with his years, until he gradually became insensible to duns and indifferent to his honor.

But let us not judge him too harshly, for no human character is ever perfect. Even the sun has its spots, and the greatest and best men have had their faults; nevertheless, as the use of Biography is to hold up examples of virtue and integrity for emulation, so should we mention vices and faults, and point them out in our charts as rocks and quicksands to be avoided by the young in the voyage of life. But the few who knew Mr. Rice, will, notwithstanding this fault, cherish his memory for his warm-hearted genial manners, and his shining talents, and drop a tear over his untimely grave.

SKETCH OF JOSEPH CLARY

MILLARD FILLMORE'S FIRST LAW PARTNER

In compliance with the request of the Buffalo Historical Society, I proceed to give a sketch of the life of Joseph Clary, whom, when living, I esteemed as a friend and for whose memory I entertain the highest respect; nevertheless I intend no eulogy, but to speak of him as he was, adding nothing to his virtues and subtracting nothing from his merits; but as far as possible I shall present a simple narrative of facts, unadorned by the flowers of rhetoric, or the attractions of exaggeration.

As some apology, however, for the meagerness of this sketch, it must be borne in mind that Mr. Clary has been dead nearly a quarter of a century; that his early life was spent at a distance from here, and that he has left no relative in this place capable of giving any information as to his habits or pursuits before he came to Buffalo to reside. But from the best information which I have been able to obtain, he was born in Paris, Oneida County, on the 1st day of November, 1792. Little or nothing is known of his father, but his mother—whose maiden name was Mary Holt (the sister of the wife of the celebrated Doctor White of Cherry Valley)—seems to have been a remarkable woman, much respected through life, and to whom her son felt a filial devotion. It is to be inferred that she was left a widow while Joseph was very young, as tradition says that when a boy he was sent to live with a farmer in Richfield, Otsego County, then an adjoining town to Paris. During the time he remained on a farm he was doubtless employed as other hired boys are in similar situations. He learned something

of agriculture, knew what it was to work hard all day, and sleep soundly at night, and though this gave him a robust constitution and inured him to labor, yet probably his literary advantages were small.

But on the 4th of February, 1803, his mother married John Diehl, a widower and country merchant of Cherry Valley (Joseph then being in his eleventh year), and this marriage changed his pursuits and worldly prospects. He was a smart, bright, active boy and his stepfather took him into his store as a clerk, where he remained until the death of Mr. Diehl on the 19th of May, 1813, Joseph then being in his twenty-first year. That this arrangement was mutually satisfactory, and that the marriage of his mother was a happy one, is fairly to be inferred from the fact that he was contented to remain there, and from the still more significant fact, that his stepfather by his will permitted Joseph to share equally of his property with a child by his former wife. Such an act shows how much he was beloved by his stepfather, and proves that his conduct had merited this reward.

After the death of Mr. Diehl he was compelled to launch forth into the world for himself, but being of a self-reliant, enterprising nature, he formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Nathaniel R. Packard, and they commenced trade as country merchants in Cherry Valley. In this he seems to have been unsuccessful, as many have been before and many will be hereafter.

His failure induced him to turn his attention in another direction, and the next we hear of him is as a student at law in the office of Hammond & Beardsley[1] in Cherry Valley.

1. As many a reader will no doubt recognize, this firm name stands for much in New York State history. The senior member, Hon. Jabez D. Hammond, began law practice at Cherry Valley in 1804. Levi Beardsley studied law with him and became his partner in 1812, the firm continuing until 1822. Judge Hammond served in the State Senate, was a Representative in Congress, and for many years active and influential in political affairs in New York State. His best service to the student of history is his two-volume "History of Political Parties in the State of New York" (Buffalo: Phinney & Co., 1850), supplemented by his "Life and Times of Silas Wright." (Syracuse, 1848.) His partner, Levi Beardsley, served in the State Senate, 1830-38, being President thereof in his last term; and was the author of a volume of "Reminiscences" (New York, 1852), containing much valuable history, especially of Central and Western New York.

How long he remained in their office is uncertain, but from a letter which I have seen from Morse & Stuart of the same place, it seems that in May, 1817, he was a student with them, for they say: "Joseph is a clerk in our office and will make a good lawyer." He was now in his twenty-fifth year with probably little of that peculiar education that fitted him for the profession upon which he had just entered. But he was not a man to be discouraged by obstacles or diverted from the pursuit of a favorite object by trifles. He continued his studies in that office until the spring of 1820, when, after repeated letters from his brother-in-law, Mr. Asa Rice, urging him to do so, he came to Buffalo and formed a partnership with him in the practice of the law.

Mr. Clary was a practical surveyor, and for several years after he came here devoted much of his time to that employment, thereby giving himself healthy outdoor exercise, and admirably qualifying him as a conveyancer, and throwing much of that business into his hands as a lawyer.

On the 14th of February, 1821 (then being in his twenty-ninth year), he was admitted as attorney and counsellor of the Erie County Common Pleas, and with Mr. Rice commenced business in his own name. On the 16th of August, 1822, he was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court, and very soon his energetic business talents began to be known and appreciated here, and on the 17th of December of that year he was appointed attorney and clerk of the village of Buffalo, during the absence of Gorham Chapin.

In 1823 or 1824 he was appointed clerk of the Board of Supervisors, and served as such for several years, but the exact time I cannot state, as the records of that office are either lost or in such confusion that the present clerk has been unable to find those for that period.

Mr. Rice's failing health at this time compelled him to discontinue business, and in March, 1823, Mr. Clary and I formed a partnership by the terms of which I was to keep an office in the town of Aurora and he in Buffalo, and he was to have one half of the profits of business coming through my office, and I one quarter of that coming through

his; but business was light, and the profits very small, and finally a dissolution took place by mutual consent.

On the 28th of May, 1824, he was admitted to practice as solicitor in the Court of Equity for the Eighth Circuit, and on the 11th of October, 1825, he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and continued to hold that office by election till the 31st of December, 1833, more than eight years. During most of the time that he acted as Justice of the Peace he continued the practice of his profession, and in April, 1830, he and I formed another partnership [1] for three years, and I removed to Buffalo, but that partnership was dissolved by mutual consent in November, 1832.

At the general election of 1833 he was with great difficulty persuaded to run for the Assembly, but finally consented and was elected, and attended the session of 1834; he, however, positively declined a reëlection, much to the regret of his friends and constituents. But to return.

On the 2d of June, 1828, he was elected a trustee of the village of Buffalo, and immediately appointed president of the board, and he was re-appointed to the same office in 1830. On the 14th of January, 1830, he was admitted to practice as solicitor and counsellor in the Court of Chancery,

1. In the Buffalo *Journal* from May, 1830, appears the following card: "JOSEPH CLARY & MILLERD FILLMORE, Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, and Solicitors and Counsellors in Chancery, have formed a co-partnership, and opened an office three doors south of the Eagle Tavern, Main-street, Buffalo." In 1834 was formed the partnership of Fillmore & Hall; and on January 10, 1836, that of Fillmore, Hall & Haven. Judge Hall retired from the firm in May, 1839, but Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Haven continued together in active practice until the fall of 1847, when Mr. Fillmore was elected Comptroller of the State. Dennis Bowen, who studied law with Fillmore, Hall & Haven, formed a partnership with Judge Hall in 1842. The business thus established continues to the present day, with various changes of partners. It has been prominent as Rogers & Bowen, and Bowen & Rogers. In 1855 it was Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, and a young student in the office, afterwards managing clerk for the firm, was Grover Cleveland. In later years the firm has been that of Bowen, Rogers & Locke; Rogers, Locke & Milburn; and is now Rogers, Locke & Babcock; and it claims the unique distinction of being the only law firm that has furnished from its office two Presidents of the United States. President Cleveland made his law-partner, Wilson S. Bissell, Postmaster-General, as President Fillmore had made his former partner. Judge Hall was Postmaster-General from July 23, 1850, to September 13, 1852, and in September, 1851, was acting Secretary of the Interior.

and the next day as counsellor in the Supreme Court; this comprises the record of his professional and official life.

In his profession he was an excellent business man, and office lawyer, dispatching whatever he had to do with promptness and energy; but he made no efforts to distinguish himself as an advocate. A natural modesty and diffidence seemed to chain his tongue and embarrass him when he attempted to speak in public; though he was fluent in private conversation, and related an anecdote with great humor and striking effect. In the discharge of his office duties, no man was more laborious and conscientious. His judgment, which was always clear and upright, dictated his action, and no man ever suspected that he permitted his prejudices or passions to interfere with or swerve his action from what he deemed to be right. Hence he had the confidence of all and was universally popular.

In his domestic relations he was fortunate and happy. His success in business procured for him an independent fortune and he knew how to enjoy it. He speculated some in real estate, and was always successful, for his operations were all guided by a clear intellect and a cool and dispassionate judgment. He avoided the gambling speculations of 1835-36,—when so many of our best men were ruined—because he had no confidence in them. The boasts of those who had made princely fortunes in a day excited neither his admiration nor envy. He pursued the even tenor of his way and calmly and patiently waited the result.

In the spring of 1826 he commenced the erection of a wooden dwelling-house on the northwest corner of Franklin and Mohawk streets, which was finished and rented but not occupied by him till some time after his marriage. For nearly ten years after he came to Buffalo he lived a bachelor, boarding at the Eagle Tavern, kept by that prince of hotel-keepers, Benjamin Rathbun, where his fellow-boarders were William A. Moseley, Stephen G. Austin, Joseph Dart, Samuel C. Brewster, Guy H. Goodrich, David Burt, D. Benjamin, C. Congdon, Dr. H. R. Stagg, Henry E. Davies, Ira A. Blossom, Thomas Blossom, Thomas C. Love, Hora-

tio Shumway, Dr. William Shelton, Lewis F. Allen, George R. Babcock, John C. Lord, and many others too numerous to mention, and with all I believe he not only lived on amicable terms, but was regarded as a good whole-souled fellow and delightful companion.

But on the 1st day of February, 1830, he married Maria T. Rathbun, daughter of Samuel Rathbun, Esq., a wholesale dry-goods merchant of New York, and soon after commenced housekeeping in his new house where he continued to reside till his death. His house was always distinguished for a liberal hospitality, which was dispensed with equal grace and munificence by himself and his accomplished lady, as many now living here can testify.

But in 1836 an unexpected occurrence took place that not only cast a shadow over his business prospects and happy days, but probably laid the foundation of that disease that afterwards proved fatal. I allude to the failure of Benjamin Rathbun in that year. Rathbun had exhibited a Napoleonic grasp of mind in business affairs, and he had managed to engross and control most of the business operations of Buffalo, and under the belief that he was advancing the material prosperity of our infant city, he had induced several of our most wealthy men, of whom Mr. Clary was one, to endorse his notes to the amount of $15,000. He failed in August and made an assignment of all of his property for the benefit of his creditors and he appointed Mr. Clary one of his assignees, and it was discovered that he had committed forgeries to a large amount by multiplying indefinitely the notes thus endorsed. The endorsements were so skilfully forged that it was difficult to distinguish the bad from the good, and this put in jeopardy the whole wealth of all the endorsers, and consequently was a subject of great anxiety to them all. In addition to this, Mr. Clary took upon himself the whole burden of the assignment, and became the chief, if not the sole acting assignee. And in addition to all this, Mr. Rathbun had in his employ at the time of his failure some 2500 workmen of all nations and tongues, and they were among the preferred creditors, but

fearing that they were to be cheated out of their pay they threatened to plunder Rathbun's stores, and the assignees supposing that there were assets sufficient to pay the preferred class, paid off the workmen to prevent a riot: but it turned out that there was only enough to pay about fifty cents on the dollar to the preferred creditors, and then an effort was made to charge the assignees with what they had paid the workmen. Mr. Clary had a herculean task in the mere labor which he had to perform for six years to close up this business, and this, with the great anxiety of mind growing out of the circumstances weighed heavily upon him. His strong, vigorous constitution began to give way under the pressure, but still he persevered in the performance of his duty till the whole thing was closed and a decree of exoneration and discharge entered by the chancellor.[1]

But as the excitement passed off he sank immediately. He went from Saratoga, where the decree was entered, to

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1. There is no more striking figure in all the earlier history of Buffalo than Benjamin Rathbun, whose enterprises, forgeries, failure and conviction make a unique chapter in the annals of the town. He was born in Otsego County, New York, about 1789, but came to Buffalo from Sandusky, O., in 1821. He was proprietor of the Eagle Tavern till about 1830. His enterprises were many; he became a large employer of labor and projected buildings and other improvements on a bold scale. His most ambitious project was the proposed City Exchange, construction of which was begun on Main street, between North and South Division streets. It was to be a vast colonnaded building, with a tower 220 feet high. (A picture of it is preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.) On August 3, 1836, he was arrested on a charge of forgery, as was also his brother Lyman. It was said that, though instigating and directing the perpetration of immense frauds, Benjamin Rathbun himself never forged the name of a single endorser. This was the work, it was stated, of his brother Lyman and two nephews, Rathbun Allen and Lyman Rathbun Hulett. The names that were forged were all of prominent men of Buffalo—Lewis F. Allen, Noyes Darrow, Thomas C. Love, Joseph Clary, Hiram Pratt, Ira A. Blossom, John W. Clark, Joseph Dart, Jr., Charles Townsend, Ebenezer Johnson and Sheldon Thompson. On the first trial of Benjamin Rathbun, begun at Batavia March 29, 1837, the jury failed to agree. On the second trial, September, 1838, he was sentenced to five years at hard labor in Auburn prison. He served the full term, refusing to ask for a pardon. On his release he returned to Buffalo, but soon went to New York, where he opened Rathbun's Hotel on Broadway, which he conducted with fair success for many years. At his death, which occurred at Ft. Washington, July 20, 1873, he was said to have a property worth $75,000 or upwards. Some note of Mr. Fillmore's connection with the Rathbun failure, as an assignee, will be found in the Introduction of the preceding volume.

New York, but finding himself so unwell he hastened home and on reaching his own house he was perfectly exhausted, and never left his bed till he died on the 11th of August, 1842. His disease was said to be liver complaint, but whatever it was it doubtless had its origin in the facts which I have related. He had no children but left a bereaved widow and numerous friends to mourn his loss. His remains were buried in the cemetery on High Street, but have since been removed to Forest Lawn. When I last visited his tomb, a stone monument marked his resting-place, which was inscribed "Joseph Clary" and nothing more, and this I understand was his own request, as he had a great aversion to all ostentatious display and especially upon a tombstone. But he left a name that his friends will never blush to hear, for I can truly say with the poet,

"Green be the turf above thee,
Friend of my better days;
None knew thee but to love thee,
None named thee but to praise."

In stature he was about five feet, nine inches, of dark complexion, straight black hair and large black eyes, of a commanding and dignified aspect, and he strongly resembled some portraits which I have seen, taken of Daniel Webster before he became corpulent.

ON THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

At a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, May 9, 1865, President Fillmore in the chair, the Hon. Lewis F. Allen spoke at length on the recent assassination of Abraham Lincoln. He referred to Mr. Fillmore as being peculiarly sensible of the nation's loss, and offered the following:

Resolved, That in the great bereavement which our nation has suffered in the death of its late Chief Magistrate, we devoutly acknowledge, and patiently submit to the judgments of an overruling Providence; we trust that all political animosities may cease until our country shall be restored to peace and quietude; and that the only strife of each and every one may be in a loyal restoration of the Government upon the basis of equity and justice to every citizen, and liberty to all who may dwell within our borders.

Before putting the resolution to vote Mr. Fillmore said:

As this resolution offered by Mr. Allen, is entertained by the society, and as he has been pleased to refer to me in his remarks, I trust that I shall be pardoned for saying a few words before the question is taken on its adoption. Perhaps no member of this society appreciates more fully than I do, the difficult task which President Lincoln had to perform, and I am sure none can deplore his death more sincerely than I do.

It is well known that I have not approved of all acts which have been done in his name during his Administration, but I am happy to say that his recent course met my approbation, and I had looked forward with confident expectation that he would soon be able to end the war, and by his kind, conciliatory manner win back our erring and repentant brethren and restore the Union. His assassination has sent

a thrill of horror through every heart, depriving the Chief Magistrate of his life at a moment when party hostility was subsiding, and his life was doubly dear to his countrymen, and it has plunged a nation into mourning.

The chief assassin has already been summoned to the bar of a just God to answer for his crime, and I hope and trust that every one who participated in this awful tragedy will be legally tried, before the constitutional courts of the country, and if found guilty, will meet the punishment which the law prescribes for his offence; and that no innocent person will suffer from prejudice or passion. I need hardly add that I cordially concur in this resolution as a just tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased.

But while I express my sense of the great loss which this country has sustained in the death of President Lincoln at this particular juncture, I would not be understood as implying a want of confidence in his successor. I can sympathize with him in the embarrassments with which he is surrounded, and the difficulties which he has to encounter in being thus suddenly called to the helm of state amid the perilous storm of an unparalleled rebellion. It appears to me that the storm has nearly spent its fury, and the angry waves are gradually subsiding, and gleams of sunshine already illumine many a dark spot. This fact greatly adds to the labors and responsibilities of the Government. Statesmanship must now take the place of arms. But yet I have hope. From all that I know of President Johnson I think he has talent and integrity; and if he will hear and then follow the dictates of his own good sense and calm judgment, without prejudice or passion, he will succeed. But I must say that I am pained to see so little consideration manifested even by well-intentioned friends, as to rush upon him at this time with addresses, requiring a response from him, thus engrossing his valuable time and distracting his mind, when every consideration of friendship, patriotism and propriety should forbid it.

The first caution he has to observe is to steer clear of the factions that are trying to get possession of him for their

own selfish purposes—to carry out some favorite theory of reconstruction, or to gratify some feeling of revenge.

I am happy to see that he receives all politely but keeps his own counsel, and has the prudence and good sense not to commit himself in offhand speeches as to his future policy; but leaves himself at liberty, after due consideration, to take advantage of circumstances as they arise.

In my humble opinion, he who controls the destinies of a nation, especially at a time like this, should never indicate his future policy until it is fully matured in Cabinet council, and he is ready to put it in operation; nor should he promise an office until he is ready to confer it.

While, therefore, we justly deplore the loss of President Lincoln, let us never despair of the Republic; but rally around his successor, regardless of past differences or party prejudices, and do all we can to sustain him, so long as he maintains the Constitution and laws of our common country. Let us remember amidst all our grief and disappointments that there is an unerring Providence that governs this world, and that no man is indispensable to a nation's life; and let us look hopefully for the rainbow of peace that will surely succeed the storm if we do our own duty. I hope the resolution will be adopted.

WELCOME TO ANDREW JOHNSON

On September 3, 1866, President Andrew Johnson and party visited Buffalo, and ex-President Fillmore was called on to express the city's welcome. He said:

Mr. President: The pleasing duty has been assigned to me of welcoming you and your distinguished Ministers and the gallant officers of the Army and Navy accompanying you to the hospitalities of the city of Buffalo. This duty is the more grateful to my feelings and the more honorable to you, sir, as I am authorized to speak in the name and on behalf not only of the city authorities, but also of all our citizens, without distinction of party or sect. All have cordially united in this testimony of respect to the Chief Magistrate of the nation. They know and appreciate your patriotic devotion to the Union during the darkest days of the Rebellion. When Senators and Representatives in Congress threatened treason, and your own State swung from her moorings under the Constitution and drifted into the turbid stream of secession, you stood like a rock in the midst of the ocean, against which the waves of rebellion dashed in vain. Still standing erect, while the tempest howled and the waters surged around you, you firmly resolved that the Union should be maintained.

Since the war, new issues have arisen of which it would not be proper for me to speak on this occasion; but I think that I may venture to assure you, in the name of all, that however we may differ as to the best mode of accomplishing it, yet we are, with few exceptions, anxious to see the Union restored under the Constitution, and harmony and commercial intercourse and fraternal love again uniting the North

and the South; and the sooner this can be accomplished the better for the country. Every intelligent man knows that until this is done, our credit can not be established abroad, and business, to a certain extent, must be paralyzed at home. As matters now stand, all is doubt and uncertainty, and no man can safely predict what may happen next month or next year. Such a state of uncertainty is a national calamity.

But I will not detain you longer. This vast multitude that stand before you are anxious to hear the voice of the man they have met to honor, and not mine; and therefore, with sincere prayers that your journey may be a pleasant and safe one, I repeat the cordial welcome to our city, and regret that your stay is necessarily so brief. Allow me the honor to present you to our citizens.

A FOUNDER OF THE HUMANE SOCIETY.

Mr. Fillmore was one of the originators in Buffalo of the agitation which resulted in the establishment of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He presided at many of the early meetings, but the newspapers of the day preserve but meager record of his remarks on these occasions. Of a meeting on March 21, 1867, we have this note:

Mr. Fillmore said that the object of the meeting was known and understood by all present. No man could walk the streets of our city without having his feelings outraged; and there could be no difference of opinion among humane men as to what should be done. Mr. Fillmore thought that in the generality of instances the cruelty exercised toward animals was not so much the outbreak of malice as of anger.

At a subsequent meeting, March 28th, he spoke at some length:

Mr. Fillmore said he had felt for years that a society of the kind contemplated was necessary in this place. We had laws against cruelty to animals, but they were not executed.

When in Naples he inquired why it was that men were arrested and incarcerated without the forms of law, and learned from a gentleman speaking his own language, that the laws did not differ materially from those of Great Britain, although trial by jury was not tolerated and testimony was taken in writing but the laws protecting the person were not enforced. The law was ample but was not executed; and so with reference to that in relation to cruelty to animals. He referred to the workings of the humane society in London, and said that reform in London had accomplished a great good. In Italy he found the people gentle and kind to the inferior animals, but in Spain the most terrible cruelties were practiced and those he regarded as the legitimate outgrowth of the bull fights. Speaking of the question of vivisection, he said if it was necessary for physiological purposes, we must submit—but it was nevertheless horrible. The process of cutting up a horse alive, commencing at his extremities and dissecting him to pieces, he could not regard with anything but a feeling of horror; but if he were satisfied of its absolute necessity he, personally, might submit to it with a better grace.[1]

1. Mr. Fillmore, with other citizens of Buffalo, signed and sent to the Legislature the following remonstrance to prevent if possible the passage of a bill introduced in the Legislature by Assemblyman Burns, of New York:

To the Honorable, the Legislature of the State of New York:

We, your memorialists of the city of Buffalo, respectfully state that we have seen with equal regret and surprise that a bill (No. 193) has been introduced in the Assembly by which it is proposed to repeal so much of the Act of April 12, 1867, as authorizes any agent of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to make arrests and bring the offender before a magistrate; and also to exempt from arrest any employee whose employer can be found in this State, &c., &c.

Believing that the power granted by said act of 1867 is sufficiently guarded to prevent abuse, and that it is indispensable to the execution of the law in our cities, as without it the criminal would escape before a warrant could be obtained and thereby elude arrest and punishment; and believing that it is a novel idea in the administration of criminal justice that an employee committing a crime should not be answerable for it, if he has an employer residing somewhere in this State, whereas the general rule has always been, and should be, that all engaged in a criminal act are equally culpable, and certainly this should be no exception; we, therefore, respectfully, but *most earnestly*, remonstrate against the passage of said bill, and venture to express the hope that the Legislature of this State is not prepared to take any backward step in this humane and Christian work; but that it will continue to maintain the honor of the State and show to other States of the Union which have followed its noble example that it is in earnest in its endeavor to protect the brute creation from wanton cruelty and abuse.

MILLARD FILLMORE
BUFFALO, March 11, 1870. [*and others.*]

MR. FILLMORE'S

INTERVIEW WITH HUMBOLDT

In September, 1869, Buffalo had a celebration to mark the anniversary of the birth of Alexander von Humboldt. The exercises included a musical programme of great merit, and numerous addresses. Buffalo's German citizens were prominent, and the speeches included one in German by a distinguished guest. The papers state that on the day of the celebration—September 14th—an audience of more than 5,000 gathered for the exercises. Mr. Fillmore presided, and spoke as follows:

I have been requested by the committee of arrangements to relate my interview with Baron Humboldt, and with some reluctance I have consented to do so; but it must necessarily compel me to be a little more egotistical than I could desire, and I fear that more will be expected than I can give.

In 1855, while traveling in Europe, I unexpectedly met Baron Gerolt at Bonn, on the Rhine, who had so long and so ably represented the Prussian Government at Washington, and he inquired of me if I intended to visit Berlin and I told him I did, and he kindly tendered me a letter of introduction to Baron Humboldt, which I gratefully accepted, expecting, however, nothing more than the privilege of looking at an octogenarian who had ascended the Peak of

Teneriffe, and from its dizzy height marked the time that it took the disc of the sun to rise above the horizon, and who had traced the Orinoco river through savage wilds and burning heats to its source; and scaled the Andes and ascended the Chimborazo to the height of nearly 20,000 feet, and whose name had been intimately associated with the advancement of science for more than half a century. I felt that it would be a satisfaction to look upon such a man and mark his lineaments and hear him converse.

Accordingly when I arrived in Berlin I inquired if Baron Humboldt had a residence there and was informed that he had, and I sent my courier with my letter of introduction and address, inquiring when it would be convenient to receive a call from me; but my messenger returned with information that the Baron was at Potsdam, eighteen miles distant, and I concluded that I should not see him until I visited Potsdam, but to my surprise, just as I had finished my breakfast the next morning, Baron Humboldt was announced. My letter and address had been sent to him the evening before, and he had come down purposely to meet me, and he received me with a cordiality that put me entirely at my ease. He was then eighty-six years old, tall and stoutly built, with a strongly marked German countenance, his hair white and thin, slightly stooping in his shoulders, with his chin nearly resting upon his bosom as he stood, but of a most benign and venerable aspect and commanding dignity. Finally, the portrait which hangs there painted by Mr. Sellstedt, is a very good likeness.[1]

Although he spoke the English language, yet it was with some difficulty that I could understand him, as he spoke with an accent, and the loss of his teeth had evidently impaired his power of enunciation. After a short conversation, learning that I had just arrived in the city, he proposed at once to accompany me to see the chief objects of interest, and in spite of my protestations that I could not ask such a favor,

1. This portrait of von Humboldt, painted by Mr. L. G. Sellstedt, was presented to the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, and now hangs in the Buffalo Public Library.

he spent most of the day in showing me about the city and pointing out the chief curiosities. You may well conclude that for a man of his age he was very active, and he seemed to take as much interest in everything as though he was but fifty, and was looking at them for the first time. Some few days after I returned his call and found him occupying rooms assigned him by the King in one of his palaces at Potsdam, and he was engaged in reading the last proofs of his "Kosmos." I asked him if it had been translated into English as far as completed, and he said it had. I inquired if he had seen the translation, and he said he had, and that it was very good. Though sitting by a table, I observed that when he wrote he wrote upon his knee, and as I remarked the singularity, he said that he had been compelled so much of his life to use his knee for a writing-table that the habit had rendered it natural and easy. He spoke with interest of his travels through the United States in 1804, and of his visit to President Jefferson.

The room which he occupied was evidently his workshop. It was filled with books and maps, and such natural curiosities as he had collected during his long life; and many of them were very rare and curious. Indeed, it was a perfect museum for the man of science, and he kindly drew my attention to objects of the greatest interest.

I afterwards met him at a dinner party given by the King at the Palace of Sans Souci, where the chief diplomats and nobles were assembled, and I was struck with the deference that was paid him, not only by the King and Queen, but by all present. He was indeed an extraordinary man, and I never expect to look upon his like again.

AT THE SOUTHERN COMMERCIAL CONVENTION.

In 1869 Mr. Fillmore consented to act as president for the "Southern Commercial Convention." He presided at the annual session of this body, at Louisville, Ky., October

11, 1869; and at a reception held at the Court House made the following remarks:

MR. MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN OF LOUISVILLE: This reception is an honor and a pleasure which I had no reason to expect. Were I a candidate for some high patriotic office, or did I come with prestige of official power, I might account for this assembly here today. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since I have taken part in political matters. I belong to no party, but I do belong to my country; and I cannot express the gratification I feel today at seeing in prospect a deliberative body gathered from every State in the Union—the Union restored, that patriotic and glorious Union which has been endangered, but I trust not lost. Fifteen years ago I visited your city for the first and last time, and had I been placed in it today unawares I could not have recognized it. True, here is the grand old river flowing along its edge; here is the great natural obstruction of the falls, which has placed it with the great commercial cities of the country; but now when I see your splendid houses and your beautiful streets, all seem changed. It would seem as though magic had wrought it. How you could be so prosperous under all the vicissitudes of the past ten years is unaccountable; but I congratulate you on your good fortune and your prosperity.

Kentucky, if there be a State in the Union except the State which gave me birth, is the State of all others I have learned to honor.

I knew your illustrious citizen, who did honor to his State as he did to all the Union, and who now sleeps within your borders. I need not say that I allude to Henry Clay. He was my earliest and most devoted friend, and I was his; and I can never revert to his memory without reverence and respect.

I beg your pardon, gentlemen—I came here with no prepared address; the time is long passed since I have attempted such a thing. I came here simply to thank you for this unexpected reception and honor, and to express the hope

that you may be one and united forever. Pardon me, therefore, for not adding to this address and for contenting myself with simply thanking you for this honor.[1]

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1. As president of this body, some time later, Mr. Fillmore issued the following call for the convention of 1870:

"In conformity with the resolve of the Southern Commercial Convention, at the meeting held in Louisville, Ky., October 12, 1869, the annual session of the convention will be held at Cincinnati, Ohio, commencing Tuesday, October 4, 1870. Commercial bodies, municipal and other corporations, and all other interests entitled to representation in the convention, are requested to appoint delegates in accordance with the basis of representation adopted at the session of the convention held at Memphis, Tenn., May 18, 1869.

MILLARD FILLMORE, *President.*

CHAS. M. THURSTON, *Sec'y.*

IN HONOR OF GENERAL BARRY

In October, 1867, some forty gentlemen of Buffalo, headed by Mr. Fillmore, addressed a letter to Major General William F. Barry, U. S. A., tendering to him a public dinner as an expression of their esteem. General Barry accepted the courtesy; at the dinner on the evening of October 25th,[1] Mr. Fillmore presided, and on rising to propose the toast of the evening, spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: We have met to do honor to an esteemed friend and fellow-citizen who is about to leave us, and in announcing the first regular toast, you might expect from me a brief speech, but I have consented to occupy this chair with the express understanding that no speech should be required of me. Here are younger and more eloquent gentlemen who might feel disappointed, if not grieved, were they not permitted to speak, and I know that you will listen to their well arranged and delightfully flowing eloquence with more pleasure than to a rambling talk from me, and I shall not disappoint you or them by any extended remarks.

1. General Barry had had his headquarters in Buffalo, as commander of the Northern Frontier, since the Fenian disturbances of 1866. The community had formed a high regard for him, and there was general regret when he was ordered to resume command of his regiment, the Second Artillery, with headquarters at San Francisco. This was the occasion of the dinner, which was held at the Tifft House, attended by some eighty citizens. Besides the remarks by Mr. Fillmore, there were speeches by General Barry, Hon. Isaac A. Verplanck, Hon. S. S. Cox, and others. The letter addressed to General Barry by Mr. Fillmore and his associates will be found on a subsequent page of this volume. The letter which General Barry wrote in reply, and other original manuscripts and souvenirs of the occasion, are preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society.

I can not, however, forbear to say that on this occasion the city of Buffalo honors herself quite as much as she honors our distinguished guest. General Barry is a son of the Empire State, of whom she may well be proud. He was born in the city of New York, and performed his first military service on the Niagara frontier during what is called the Patriot war of 1838. And his early acquaintance here enabled him to pluck from our Eden one of its fairest flowers, which he now proposes to transplant with all its beautiful blossoms to the golden State of California. But let him be assured that we shall place no flaming sword at the gate to prevent his return, but a warm and most cordial welcome will always await him.

It is often said that a military officer has no home—being always subject to the orders of his Government; and this in one sense is true, but in another it is not; for to every heart there is one dear spot, hallowed by a thousand tender recollections, from which he may have wandered thousands of miles, but at every step he drags a lengthening chain, with an ever yearning desire to return. And may we not fondly hope that our honored guest may so regard the city of Buffalo, and return to us again.

But you may naturally expect and desire to hear something of General Barry's military service during the war of the late Rebellion. At my request a young and gallant officer of our city, who served under General Barry most of the time, has furnished me with a brief statement of his services, which, with your permission I will read.

At the outbreak of the rebellion General Barry was at Pensacola, Florida, whence his battery ("A" of the 2d artillery) was ordered to the defence of the Capitol.

His battery arrived at Washington the day before the army marched for Bull Run (No. 1). Upon arriving upon the field he was appointed by General McDowell as his chief-of-artillery. He was shortly afterwards made Brigadier General of Volunteers, and appointed by General McClellan chief of artillery of the Army of the Potomac, in which capacity, after having shown great energy and pro-

fessional skill in organizing the immense artillery force belonging to that army, he took the field with it, and served at the siege of Yorktown, before Richmond and through the seven days battles, returning with it to Alexandria. General McClellan was here relieved of command and General Barry ordered to Washington, to fill the office of Inspector of Artillery of the army upon the staff of General Halleck. He remained in Washington doing Bureau duty from the autumn of 1862 until the spring of 1864, when he was relieved and ordered to report to Major General Sherman, who had just assumed command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, headquarters at Nashville, Tenn. He was at once appointed chief of artillery of the three armies then concentrating under one head at Chattanooga, and showed great energy in doing for them what he had previously done in the East, thoroughly reorganizing and equipping their artillery. He served upon General Sherman's staff in the field throughout that arduous campaign of continuous marching and fighting that terminated in the fall of Atlanta. For these services he was breveted Major General. He participated in the subsequent chase after Hood which opened to Sherman the road to the sea, but was unable to make that march with his army owing to a dangerous illness which at this crisis sent him to the rear, and laid him up for several months.

He afterwards started from New York, January 1, 1865, and joined General Sherman in Savannah in time to give the artillery a thorough inspection and overhauling, and place it in readiness for the long and precarious march that was before it. He accompanied General Sherman upon the campaign through the Carolinas up to the date of Johnson's surrender; and after the disbanding of the army in Washington was retained upon his staff and accompanied him to St. Louis, Mo., the headquarters of his new command. About this time the command of the 2d Regiment of U. S. Artillery devolved upon him by the death of Colonel and Brevet Brigadier General Morris, and he was ordered to join his command in California. The Fenian troubles occur-

ring about this time, General Grant delayed the execution of this order, and took advantage of his local knowledge of and residence upon the frontier to assign him temporarily to the command in our midst which he is now about to leave for his legitimate field of duty.

General Barry was at the beginning of the rebellion a Captain in the 2d Regiment of Artillery. During the war he has risen to Major, Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel, by regular lineal promotion, and held the rank of Brigadier General and Major General of Volunteers, and Brevet Brigadier General and Brevet Major General in the regular army.

Such is the military record of the man whom the people of Buffalo delight to honor. In a Southern State, surrounded by superior influences, when rebellion flung its defiant banner to the breeze and threatened a dissolution of the Union, yet he did not, like some others, forget the mother who had nursed him, and the oath he had taken to sustain her in her hour of affliction, and turn traitor to her cause and join her enemies; his patriotism was made of sterner stuff, and without hesitation or wavering he flew to the point of danger, joined the army of the North and was in that first but most disastrous battle of Bull Run. From that day till the last battle was fought, and the last armed enemy had surrendered, and the war was ended, he was always at his post except when dangerous illness prevented, and he shared with his brother officers and soldiers all the dangers and fatigues of that terrible conflict; never forgetting that he was a citizen as well as a soldier, and that his duty was to sustain the Constitution and laws and not to break them. He thus passed through this dreadful ordeal with his escutcheon unstained by any act of military tyranny. This brilliant array of talent, wealth and respectability, gathered around this festive board, with mingled feelings of pride and joy at his success and sorrow at parting, gives the most ample proof of the estimation in which Major General Barry as a citizen and soldier is held by the people of Buffalo.

ON THE DEATH OF JUDGE SKINNER

The Hon. John B. Skinner, for more than a generation a leader of the Bar of Western New York, died in Buffalo June 6, 1871. At a meeting of the Bar of Erie County, to take appropriate action in his memory, ex-President Fillmore was called on to preside. On taking the chair, he said:

I am not in the habit of apologizing, but it has been so long since I have attempted to speak in public that I fancy that I feel somewhat like the aged prisoner released from the Bastile. He had been confined so long that he had lost the use of his limbs, and consequently his steps were hesitating and unsteady. But feeble and unsatisfactory as my effort to speak may be, yet I can not withhold my tribute of respect to the man whose death we deplore today. I am not prepared to pronounce any eulogy upon the character of Judge Skinner. Whoever shall assume that responsible duty will require time for reflection and preparation. But since I consented today to attend this meeting I have been too much occupied by previous engagements to find time even to read the brief obituary of the deceased published in the papers this morning. I shall therefore content myself with speaking of the Judge as I knew him.

Doubtless there are many in this intelligent audience who knew him more intimately if not so long as I have. My acquaintance commenced with him in 1829, when he and I were both members of the Assembly. That was my first year, but I think it was his third year, and he had then an enviable reputation for so young a man in that distinguished body, as yet free from the suspicion of bribery, and adorned

by the talents of such men as John C. Spencer, Erastus Root, Benjamin F. Butler, Frank Granger, and a host of others.

The revision of our Statutes—the great work which did so much to methodize our laws and relieve them from the cumbrous language and accumulated contradictions and inconsistencies of years—was then just completed, and in that great work Judge Skinner bore a conspicuous part. I know that he was listened to with confidence and respect, and no member of the House seemed to exert a more salutary influence. But that, I believe, was his last year in the State Legislature, and party politics—not want of talent and integrity—prevented him from being elected to any popular office; and, indeed, so long as I took part in party politics, we belonged to different parties, consequently my subsequent acquaintance was mainly at the bar.

But here he was distinguished for his legal acquirements and forensic eloquence. I have often felt a tremor of anxiety when I had to meet him. He was a man religiously devoted to the interest of his client without ever compromising his own conscience or dignity. He prepared his case with great labor and assiduity, and whatever could be honorably said in favor of his client's interest, he presented with clearness and force, and when that was done he conceived he had discharged his professional duty, and he patiently awaited the result.

But professional labors, however great and however successful, give but a limited reputation compared with official services. The reputation of the lawyer is confined mostly to the bench and bar, while that of the statesman or military hero fills the nation—and is often reflected from foreign countries. But the highest encomium which can ever be passed upon a man of his profession may with great propriety be passed upon him, and that is, he was a learned, conscientious lawyer.

> "A wit's a feather, and a chief's a rod,
> But an honest man is the noblest work of God."

As a citizen his character stands without blemish. Foremost in all efforts to relieve the wants and improve the morals of society, he taught temperance rather by practice than by lectures; he adorned the Christian character by an humble, pious devotion, and was content to worship his Creator in his own way, without bigotry and free from all intolerance. Death is the common lot of humanity. It must come to us all sooner or later, and it can never touch a near and dear friend without our feeling it most sensibly. But yet there is some consolation in the thought that he was taken from us after his work was fully done. Had he died earlier, we should have felt that he and society had lost much. Had he survived the loss of health and faculties, we should have felt that his life was but prolonged misery, with no adequate compensation to himself or others. Our Creator knows best when it is time for us to die, and while we cannot avoid the pang which the death of a friend inflicts, yet it is our duty humbly to submit to the will of God and be resigned—and I feel that we but honor ourselves in honoring his memory.

MR. FILLMORE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

In 1871 Mr. Fillmore wrote the autobiography of his early years. This paper, which chronologically should appear next in our record—as no paper is known to have been written by him, or address to have been made, following that above printed and prior to 1872—has been placed for obvious reasons at the opening of this collection.

IN MEMORY OF SAMUEL F. B. MORSE

On the death of Samuel F. B. Morse, a public meeting was held in Buffalo, April 16, 1872, at which estimates of his service to mankind, and tributes to his memory, were presented. Ex-President Fillmore presided at the meeting, and spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Samuel F. B. Morse, the father of the telegraph, is no more. A great man, the benefactor of his race, at a ripe old age, has passed away and a nation mourns; and it is befitting that we should join our lamentations to theirs. He was our friend, for he was the friend of humanity, and we are blessed by his labors.

My acquaintance with the deceased was but slight, yet it was chiefly in connection with the telegraph that laid the foundation of his fortune and his fame, and therefore your committee seemed to think it might possess some interest on this occasion, and at their request I have consented to state it. I can only speak of one step in that long and weary road which Professor Morse traveled for twelve years, from the time he first conceived the idea of his great invention to its triumphant completion in 1844. None but those who have suffered from the rebuffs of ignorance, the night of stupidity and the cold caution of self-interest, can appreciate the labors and toils, vexation and disappointments which were endured for twelve long years by Professor Morse.

Some time, I think in 1838, Professor Morse exhibited in one of the committee rooms of the Capitol, at Washington, what probably would now be deemed a rude model of his telegraph, and among others I went by invitation to see it; but I gave it very little examination, and what he pro-

posed to do seemed so miraculous that I had little faith in it. Unfortunately, like most inventors, he had not the means to bring his invention to the test and prove to the world that it would perform all that he claimed for it, and he asked some aid from Congress to enable him to do so. The power of the electric current at short distances was known, but the fact was not yet ascertained how far this power could be transmitted, and it was to settle this point that he asked the aid of Congress, but for some reason no aid was given; and the next that I heard was that he was in Europe asking for aid to introduce his invention there. But I think he did not succeed, for when I was on my way to the Twenty-seventh Congress, and I think in the autumn of 1842, Professor Morse called on me in New York, and requested me to go and see his telegraphic machine, which I did, and saw it operate. After that he appeared in Washington with it and put it up in one of the committee rooms, and made another appeal to Congress to grant him $30,000 to enable him to lay an insulated wire underground from Washington to Baltimore, to test the practicability of his invention. The idea had not then occurred of stretching the wire on poles. I then gave more attention to the subject than I had done before, and I recollect that he had wire wound on a reel, which he said was equal to a circuit of ten miles, that is, five miles out and five miles back, and he showed me how it worked and explained how it would exceed all other telegraphs by transmitting in writing the message, and by recording it there though no one were there to receive it.

A bill was reported, I think from the Committee on Commerce, granting the amount asked for; and when it came up for consideration in the House, it was attacked by argument and ridicule, and finally passed by a very small majority. Some thought it a foolish expenditure of money upon a chimerical project, and others by way of ridicule proposed to add a sum to test experiments in mesmerism, etc.

I, however, advocated the bill, and though I could not say that the telegraph would do all that its inventor had

predicted, nevertheless I thought it was possible, and even probable, that it might, and if it would I should regard it as a national blessing, and $30,000 was not much for the nation to pay on a contingency of this kind, and the bill passed and became a law on the 3d of March, 1843. I claim no merit for the little assistance I was able to give in this case, as I but performed my duty in the position in which you, my constituents, had placed me.

I trust you will recollect that I have been speaking of events that occurred some thirty years ago, and as I have been compelled to do it without reference to any report of the proceedings, I shall crave your indulgence if I have made any mistake.

Pardon me for adding a few words more. It is always interesting to compare one great man with another in the same condition of life. I think this one of the great charms of Plutarch's "Lives." But time will not [permit me to] furnish any such comparisons as he has made and I shall content myself with barely naming two or three individuals who have rendered their names immortal by their inventions, and what strikes one as singular, is, that they have often risen from the lowest ranks of society, and their inventions have no connection with their ordinary occupation or profession.

Arkwright, in England, was an uneducated man, following the humble occupation of a barber till he was thirty years of age; and yet his invention of the spinning jenny revolutionized the world in the manufacturing of cotton goods, and made him a millionaire, and royalty itself recognized his merit and conferred upon him the order of knighthood.

Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, was a poor Connecticut boy, seeking employment as a teacher in Georgia, when he discovered the want of a machine to separate the seed from the cotton, and by his invention supplied the want, and though Georgia defrauded him of his just reward, yet his cotton gin "made cotton king," and has added immensely to the wealth of the United States and the world.

Though he lost his just reward there, yet, thank Heaven, his inventive powers were not exhausted and his inventions in the manufacture of arms made him also a millionaire.

Robert Fulton, a poor widow's son of Pennsylvania, commenced life as an artist, by painting miniatures, and yet he made the first successful application of steam to navigation, and his name will be remembered as long as a steamer plows the waters. His invention wrought a revolution in the navigation of the world, and its blessings are felt in the four quarters of the globe.

Like Fulton, Professor Morse was an artist, but he left his easel and brush and wrought one of the greatest inventions of this or any other age. Franklin called the lightning from the clouds, but Morse caught it and tamed it, and subjected it to his will; and made of it a messenger of intelligence which annihiliated time and space—it brings all nations so near together that they can, as it were, hear each other speak. It visits every clime and penetrates every obscurity. The great luminary of day can only shine on one half of the globe at the same time, but the lightning of the telegraph will spread its light by day or by night over the entire globe.

In the midst of our grief for the loss of so great and benevolent a man, it is certainly a cause of thankfulness that he was permitted to live so long to enjoy the pecuniary rewards and honors justly due to his great labors. The gratitude and esteem of his fellow-citizens have done for him while living what has generally been regarded as posthumous honors. They have erected a statue to his memory in the great commercial city of the Union, while the monument to Washington in the city which bears his name is yet unfinished. But no one could abate one jot or tittle from these testimonials of respect. They were justly due and we cheerfully add our tribute to the memory of the deceased.

AT OPENING OF THE B., N. Y. & P. RY.

Mr. Fillmore was a guest of the officials of the Buffalo, New York & Philadelphia Railway[1] on the occasion of the opening of that line, and joined in a stockholders' excursion in a tour by the first train over the road on August 18, 1872. At Olean, where some four hundred guests gathered at luncheon, the head of the table was occupied by ex-Senator C. V. B. Barse and ex-President Fillmore. Mr. Fillmore being called on for remarks, spoke at some length and, far more than was his wont, in a vein of pleasantry. The following condensed abstract is all that has been preserved of his remarks on this occasion:

He was not, he said, a candidate for any office and he could not have anticipated the call for a speech, but he took the deepest interest in the prosperity of the country and in the success of the various enterprises looking to its welfare.

1. Completed under this name in August, 1872, opened for business in January, 1873. In 1853 the Buffalo & Allegheny Railroad Co. was chartered to build a line from Buffalo to Yorkshire, N. Y., forty miles; and in 1865 the Buffalo & Washington Railroad Co. was organized to extend that line from Yorkshire to the Pennsylvania line, a distance of thirty-seven miles. These two companies were consolidated under the name of the latter in July, 1865. Shortly thereafter the Sinnemahoning & Portage Railroad Co. was chartered in Pennsylvania to build an extension of the line in that State to Emporium, about forty-four miles, and in 1866 it was merged into the consolidated Buffalo & Washington Railroad Co. In April, 1871, the name was changed to the Buffalo, New York & Philadelphia Railway Co. In 1887 occurred a foreclosure sale of the company's properties, and the B., N. Y. & P. was succeeded by the Western New York & Pennsylvania Railroad Co., owning and operating nearly 700 miles of road. This organization, which, especially in the earlier years, was regarded as of great importance in the development of Buffalo and its traffic, and which at various times drew a good deal of Buffalo investment, is now a part of the Pennsylvania Railroad system.

None of these enterprises affected us more, locally, than the construction of this railway. Twenty-five years ago he had passed through Olean, and he knew it had the benefits of the Genesee Valley canal, which terminated at Rochester. Officially and from public documents he knew something of the importance of Olean, and he remembered that many years ago he used to hear it said that when men escaped from their creditors, they escaped to Olean Point. [Being interrupted with good-natured jests on this matter, Mr. Fillmore added that, lest he be misunderstood, he would state that all the creditors who succeeded in escaping to Olean Point immediately proceeded to take rafts down the Allegheny river.] Continuing, he added that he had not expected to find now so beautiful a village or such evidences of thrift and enterprise. He was pleased that Buffalo and Olean were brought into such close and pleasant relationship, and the officers of the road were deserving of gratitude for the eminently satisfactory manner in which they had done their work. He concluded by joining in a toast to the officers of the road.

KINDNESS TO ANIMALS.

At the annual meeting of the Ladies Branch, Buffalo Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, March 3, 1873, Mr. Fillmore presided. Others made reports and formal papers; and Mr. Fillmore, being called on, addressed the meeting briefly and informally.

He spoke of the humble beginning of the society and the great humane work it had accomplished. He stated that he was deeply interested in the objects of the society; spoke of the pain which he felt to witness cruelties which are too frequently inflicted upon animals, and particularly upon that noblest animal next below man—the horse. He alluded to the cruel sports of the Romans and the Spaniards, and gave a vivid description of the bull-fight as seen in Spain. These cruel and brutalized exhibitions had the effect that might be

expected upon the character of the people. When traveling through Spain he had been deeply pained by witnessing the cruelty which was habitually exercised by the people toward their horses and lower animals.

EARLY DAYS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, June 26, 1873, Mr. Fillmore indulged in brief reminiscences:

He congratulated the society upon its success. It had met in a doctor's office, then in a law-office on Court street, where they were again invaded by the physicians and obliged to retire to the Y. M. A. building. The books and portraits on the walls speak the history of the city. Among many who have worked for the Society none had done more than Mr. Steele, who was very modest in speaking of himself. It is of very little consequence what a country is, unless its history is preserved, which has been done with this country, and especially with this city. The honorable speaker concluded by appealing to the audience to see that the Society was sustained and made prosperous.

HISTORY IN AN INTERVIEW

The following interview with Mr. Fillmore appeared in the New York *Herald,* dated "Buffalo, N. Y., September 16, 1873." The writer describes how he sat with Mr. Fillmore that morning "in his little comfortable but unpretentious office in Court street"; describes Mr. Fillmore's appearance, sketches his career, and then gives what purport to be the ex-President's own words on various subjects. The following extracts preserve Mr. Fillmore's remarks, on topics of historical character, as recorded by the anonymous but skillful and apparently trustworthy interviewer.

I was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means when Morse first brought his batteries and ten miles of wire in a coil to the committee rooms in Washington. We were asked for an appropriation of $30,000 in order to extend the experiments, a wire to Baltimore being the first under contemplation. I went to the committee rooms and saw the operations of the instruments and the messages recorded, and became convinced that here was an invention that was destined to aid in the civilization and progress of the world. Many of my colleagues and friends in and out of Congress saw it also; a few believed in it; others turned round and declared that it was pure nonsense for a man to believe he could send a message to New Orleans in the course of a few seconds. I advocated the measure for the appropriation with all the resources at my command, believing I saw in the invention something of that which has since been developed, and finally succeeded in having it passed. I be-

lieved in an enlightened progress, and supported my convictions by my voice and vote. . . .

During my travels in Europe I was usually treated with courtesy and consideration. But there were occasions when I actually felt ashamed for my country, where the unfitness of the American diplomatic and consular appointees was so glaring as to reflect seriously upon the character of the American people, leading to all kinds of embarrassments. Such appointees were simply the subjects of contemptible sneers by the polished and diplomatic minds with whom they were forced into contact. I remember one instance in France. Soon after I had landed at B—— I sent my card to the United States consul at that port. In the course of the evening he called to pay his respects to me. After some conversation with him I became convinced that he was utterly out of place in such a position, and I asked him how it was that he had been appointed to the post. He informed me that during the previous Administration (before I came to the White House) he was the editor of a small paper somewhere in Illinois; that he had worked late and early and earnestly supported his party, both in and out of his paper; and, believing he had earned a position under the Government, he went to Washington and demanded the position of postmaster at the town where he published his paper. Some difficulty stood in his way here, however, and he was not appointed to the position. Subsequently, however, he was sent for, and, after an introduction at the State Department, was put down on the list of consular nominations, confirmed with a number of others by Congress at the end of a session, when everything is rushed through without sufficient investigation or debate, and ordered to B—— in France to act as consul. He had not the slightest notion of what were his duties and didn't understand a single sentence of French. He had been there long enough, at the time of my visit, to pick up a little French and learn his business sufficiently from the *attachés* to prevent absolute blundering, and thus he held on. But his unfitness for the post could be seen almost the instant he spoke.

Another instance during the same visit to the continent, will show how little attention had been paid to the honor of the country in the appointment of diplomats. I had made an ascent of the Rigi and passed over to Switzerland and been travelling considerably for several days. On our way we were to pass a city where one of the ambassadors of our country lived. I will not mention names or places definitely because they will have no bearing upon the subject and the illustrations to be made. After we arrived I sent my card, as usual, and was called upon by Mr. ———. On stating that we were only to stay a short time and would like to see as much of the country and people as possible, our representative informed us, with considerable embarrassment, that he would be unable to introduce us to the Court or members of the Cabinet. We did not care for that, and only desired to see the city and the people generally. On asking the reason, he said he had some little social disagreements and for the time being did not associate socially with the people with whom the nature of his calling demanded almost constant contact.

I was astonished, and made inquiries as to the cause of this remarkable condition of affairs. I learned that this gentleman, who held a high position at a foreign Court, in the service of the United States, had formerly been connected with a daily journal somewhere in New England. He had entered upon the duties of an important office, calling for the exercise of the greatest skill and good judgment. He was admitted to the ranks of society as any other man might be, under the supposition that there were certain sacred obligations he would scrupulously respect. The first thing he did, however, was to write a series of letters to his journal containing severe and unflattering comments upon the people at his new home, treating the ladies especially in a most unhandsome manner. In his ignorance or forgetfulness, he had imagined that the departure of his letter by the mail would be the last of it. But the facilities of exchange soon undeceived him. The letters returned, were translated and read by the persons who were most concerned. Mr.

——— was instantly shut out from all social gatherings; the native officials, even, scarcely liked to have dealings with him.

[Replying to an inquiry how such unfit appointments could be prevented, Mr. Fillmore said:]

I will tell you how I think the evil can be avoided in the future. We have naval academies for our officers of the Navy; we have a training establishment for our Army officers; doctors and lawyers and engineers receive special educations for their respective walks in life, and the benefits of such a course of training are too paramount to admit of a doubt. Now, our diplomats and foreign representatives have as much need of special training as either of the others I have named. They are often found in positions of great delicacy, calling for the finest logic and experience; they are supposed to take rank with the greatest trained minds in other countries, and yet the appointments are not even appropriately made; much less is there experience to direct. I would suggest that a system of training be inaugurated similar to that at the British Foreign Office, for instance, where young men have to study diplomacy as a science, and are only advanced, with a few exceptions, after they have had experience in the different grades leading to the position to which they are finally appointed. There might be a preliminary educational department leading to the State Department, whence the young men might be drafted as *attachés,* etc., until fitness and capacity alone should recommend them to the higher positions in the service of the State.

[He was asked as to the fitness of certain recent appointments "from among the ranks of the Crédit Mobilier heroes, especially the Japan Commission":]

I know nothing of several of the gentlemen recently appointed, but after the late emphatic expression of public opinion the best that can be said is that they are unfortunate appointments. The same applies to Spain as to Japan.

[He was asked if persistent office-seekers thronged the White House when he was President:]

No. If a man came to me and stated his services to the party as a claim on which he based his demand for office I frequently considered that a good reason for refusal. I never promised a man an office; I never allowed him to know whether I would appoint him or not. If a relative came to me and pleaded relationship as his claim, as well as special fitness, I invariably told him that the people would never believe it was his capacity that had planted him in a Government office, but the relationship, insinuating that favoritism instead of ability had been his special aid, to the exclusion of some better man. Such suspicions should be avoided.

When I formed my Cabinet there were one or two gentlemen I might have retained as advisers; but I had my own views of certain leading matters, and had I consented to allow them to remain many of my supporters would probably have believed I was permitting the opposing interests to prevail in the State councils. I therefore accepted their resignations and appointed in their places well-known and, I think, trusted men, in whom the country had confidence. I placed Mr. Webster at the head of the State Department, because he was a man of considerable experience in the matters of State, and because he was known and respected by the people both for his diplomacy and the public services he had rendered. He was not a great linguist, like Everett, who succeeded him, it is true, but he possessed those sterling qualities of the head and the heart that gave us all entire confidence in him. Everett was the more polished man of the two, perhaps; he had had experience on a foreign mission abroad, and had been in contact with the best men of the time, and, in addition, was an accomplished scholar, reading and speaking most of the modern and several ancient languages. I have reasons for believing that my other Cabinet appointments gave satisfaction.

Before Mr. Webster died I called to see him, and, in the course of a long conversation on our social and political relations, Webster said:

"There is but one thing that I really regret having done during the course of my political life."

I asked him what that was and he replied:

"I regret that I ever voted for a soldier President. There is no use in saying that my friends advised me to do it; I did not believe in it, and, therefore, there is nothing I can say in that direction to apologize for it."

He referred to General Taylor.

[His views on President Grant's Cabinet were requested:]

General Grant is doubtless a greater general than statesman; and, perhaps, there should be some allowance made for his want of experience. He appointed a Cabinet with one exception, from men who were extremely obscure, unknown to the people and not having any special fitness. I think this was unwise. Emergencies unlooked for may arise, calling for the exercise of special ability on the parts of the heads of departments, and lacking that ability changes must occur. Everything appears to go on quietly, however, and the affairs of the nation seem prosperous in the country; still the people do not like to have obscure politicians thrust forward into positions of great trust. I know very little of General Belknap[1]; I should say that Mr. Fish[2] had much more experience than either of the other members of the Cabinet.

["Do you think sufficient regard has been had for the feelings of the people in many of the latest appointments?"]

It is possible to be mistaken in men of the best repute and those having abundance of recommendation. The appli-

1. Brig.-Gen. William Worth Belknap, appointed Secretary of War by President Grant, October 13, 1869.

2. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State in Grant's Cabinet, March 11, 1869, to March 12, 1877.

cants for office were generally entered on a list, during my Administration, by the chiefs of the departments to whom they applied. When vacancies were to be filled and a man was selected for appointment inquiries were made as to his character and ability, and not as to his political achievements. If I found the man selected was capable of discharging the duties of the office I sent his name forward to Congress for confirmation. But, then, any mistakes or abuse of confidence can readily be remedied by the recalling power vested in the President.

On one occasion there was to be an important foreign appointment made. I had promised to give it to Pennsylvania, provided a suitable candidate should be endorsed. A large delegation of politicians waited upon me from that State and nominated a man, who, to all appearance, was entirely satisfactory. His recommendations were considered ample, and after the usual inquiry (which was as scrutinizing as possible) the gentleman was ordered to Washington. He was nominated and confirmed by Congress, and I appointed him. He drew his outfit money, and having provided himself with the necessaries for an ocean voyage, started for New York. While in New York, however, he behaved in the most outrageous manner. He drank and gambled away his advances, and altogether cut a most ungentlemanly, undiplomatic figure. I heard of it and instantly recalled him, thus, I believe, saving the exposure of unfitness that must have followed, and immediately appointed another man in his place. Thus, you see, the remedy quickly followed the evil.

["By your remark with reference to the 'exception' in the present Cabinet, do I understand you to mean that you endorse our foreign policy?"]

To a great extent, yes. We do not want to be mixed up with the internal affairs of other nations. During Washington's time, I admit it was a great difficulty to avoid being drawn into the vortex of the European war. The French

had doubtless been of great service to us, and their appeals for aid almost goaded the people to frenzy, but it was entirely due to the calm judgment and splendid executive ability of George Washington that we did not rush in against the English nation, who were "cordially hated" on this side of the ocean after our struggles with them.

It is difficult sometimes to avoid the shoals that foreign representatives may plant in the way. At the time Kossuth was here with his retinue he called upon Mr. Webster at the State Department, and requested an interview or an introduction. Mr. Webster came to me and said:

"Kossuth has called at the Department and desires an introduction."

I knew Kossuth was not a statesman; he depended entirely upon his oratory. "If he desires simply an introduction," I said to Webster, "I will see him, but if he wants to make a speech to me, I must most respectfully decline to see him."

"He has promised me not to make a speech," replied Webster.

"Very well, then," I said, "I will see him."

The next day Kossuth appeared with a brilliant retinue, and, on being introduced, instantly commenced a lengthy speech. When he had finished I briefly stated that I had misunderstood the object of his interview at first; but I most decidedly could not and would not interfere in the affairs of a foreign nation.[1]

From this point of view, I think our dealings with Spain in reference to Cuba have been the safest that could be adopted. It may take a few years, but in the end, with the encouragement derived from the free institutions of the United States, Cuba will either be free from Spanish rule or be annexed to America.

[Mr. Fillmore's views were sought on the desirable length of the Presidential term, and related topics:]

1. *See* President Fillmore's remarks to Kossuth, December 31, 1851, Fillmore papers, vol. I, p. 426.

It was degrading [he said] that high officials should use their official positions as a kind of commercial business, out of which to extract large incomes. He charged most of the corruption that now exists to the elective system. If a man attended a convention and was nominated for an elector, he was pledged beforehand to give his vote for a certain man only, and he could not do otherwise.

Now, I remember [said Mr. Fillmore] when it was proposed to abolish the present electoral system altogether and leave the election of President to the senior members of the United States Senate. Of course, no one would have known beforehand who was to be elected, and his political color would not be known until afterwards, thus saving the country endless excitement and preventing that interruption to business and commercial interests that sometimes occurs. Although the citizens repelled the idea, because every man believed to have in himself the right by birth of an expression of opinion on this subject, there was considerably more wisdom in the proposition than was generally seen.

I would, however, prefer that the spirit of the Constitution be adhered to. Washington and Lincoln lived in exceptional times, and I would rather see a precedent of only one term established. That term I would make six years instead of four, as now, which would enable the successful candidate to entirely master the duties of the office, and would extend by one-half the periods between which these interruptions occur to the country.

But I would go further in the way of revising the Constitution. With the view of preventing this trafficing while in office, in order to provide for the days that are to follow an exit from the White House, I would pension the outgoing President by permitting him to draw an annual amount equal to the half of his salary while in office, this to continue as long as he lives.

It is a national disgrace that our Presidents, after having occupied the highest position in the country, should be cast adrift, and, perhaps, be compelled to keep a corner grocery

for subsistence. We make a bargain with our Supreme Court Judges, and agree that after the expiration of twenty years' service in the Appellate Court, if they shall be seventy years of age, we will give them a pension. The Lord High Chancellor of England, when he goes out of office, receives a handsome pension to compensate him for the loss of his profession, which he cannot follow afterwards. But we elect a man to the Presidency, expect him to be honest, to give up a lucrative profession, perhaps, and after we have done with him we let him go into seclusion and perhaps poverty. See the case of the late Mrs. Lincoln.

I liked my profession and should have been glad to continue it after my retirement from the Presidency, but I couldn't do so because my colleagues at the bar would say, and quite naturally, "Here, you have been to the pinnacle and ought to be content." In that way I entirely agree with the increase of $25,000 a year, to General Grant's income, because his $50,000, considering the constantly increasing expenses of entertainment, are not worth more now than the $25,000 a year paid to Washington and others.

[Mr. Fillmore was asked to suggest a desirable candidate for Chief Justice of the United States:]

Conkling has been prominently spoken of, but it has come to be considered a political appointment, and he who has the most friends may get it. It is easy to see, however, that this is a position but few are competent to fill. He who has it should be a lawyer, who should have no business outside of that pertaining to his office; he should abandon all his private practice, so as to be perfectly free and untrammelled, and all political considerations must be excluded, before a consistent, upright and impartial performance of the duties can be expected. His reputation must be pure or he cannot command the respect of the Bar, and of the Associate Judges.

So far as I have any choice I would nominate Judge

Curtiss [1] of Massachusetts. His legal and forensic abilities are equal to those of any lawyer in the land; he is brilliant in argument and a jurist whom every one respects. The trouble with him is, I think, that he has so large and remunerative a practice, and would decline to lose it for the sake of the honor of the Chief Justiceship. I appointed him Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, but he resigned for that reason.

1. Benjamin Robbins Curtiss; in 1851 he was a member of the Lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature when President Fillmore appointed him one of the associate justices of the United States Supreme Court. He continued on the Supreme Court bench till 1857. In the famous Dred Scott case Justice Curtiss dissented from his associates, and in a powerful argument upheld the right of Congress to prohibit slavery, and disagreed with the majority of the judges in their dictum that "a person of African descent cannot be a citizen of the United States." His dissenting opinion found strong approval in the Northern States.

ADDRESS AT THE

THIRD INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION IN BUFFALO

At the third "International Industrial Exhibition" held in Buffalo, October 1, 1873, the opening address was made by Mr. Fillmore. It was his last appearance in any public capacity. His address[1] follows:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: We have met to dedicate this temple to the Goddess of Industry and especially to the patron of the mechanic arts, and I congratulate you most sincerely upon the fine display of your exhibition. I have wandered through the mazes of beautiful articles which are displayed to the admiring gaze of the multitudes congregated here tonight, and I am happy to see that your exhibition is truly international. Here I see commingling in friendly competition the subjects of the Canadian Dominion with the citizens of the United States. And why should not this be so? A noble river and magnificent lakes separate our territories, and different governments rule over our respective countries; nevertheless we are substantially one people; speaking the same language, having the same laws, and professing the same religion: and if we are not in fact, we should be commercially, one.

But I make no predictions on this subject, and indeed I have no solicitude, but I must say if new territory is to be annexed, I greatly prefer the Anglo-Saxon races who have

1. Here printed from the original manuscript in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

some rational ideas of government according to law, to the Latin races, none of which has ever yet been able to maintain a free, republican government. Time ripens fruit that is spoiled by being plucked too early.

It is now more than fifty years since I first became an inhabitant of Buffalo, and although I have been occasionally absent from the city, yet I have always been here often enough to note its growth and watch its prosperity and adversity with intense interest. I remember well that about 1825, when the Erie Canal was completed, the commercial advantages which Buffalo possessed gave a great impulse to our growth and prosperity, and it seemed for many years as though Buffalo was to be chiefly a commercial city. Buffalo had little available water power and Rochester had it in abundance, and she turned it to a very good account. She had men of wealth and enterprise and for some years she competed strongly with Buffalo for the greatest number of inhabitants. But finally commerce triumphed over manufactures, and Buffalo took the lead and became the third city in the Empire State and from present appearances she is likely to maintain her proud position against all competition.

The truth is, the introduction of cheap and abundant coal into our city has given us a motive power little if any inferior to the best water power, and our enterprising mechanics show by their acts that they appreciate its value.

The busy hum of industry is heard on all sides, and the worshippers in this temple have laid upon its altars their choicest offerings for the admiration of the world. Well may the artisan who excels look upon the work of his hands with pride and invite friendly competition. I honor any man who excels in the profession or calling which he follows. All labor is honorable.

> "Honor and shame from no condition rise,
> Act well *your part,* there all the honor lies."

Productive labor is the source of all wealth. All the money made and lost in the Exchange in Wall Street, does

not add one iota to the wealth of the nation. Some individuals, it is true, become suddenly rich, but what is added to their wealth is taken from the wealth of some other man, and is not unfrequently the hard earnings of patient toil and pinching economy. But occasionally we see the wealth of the favored few vanish before our eyes like the baseless fabric of a dream. Do not envy such millionaires, but pity the poor dupes who have been crushed by their fall.

To lessen, if not to prevent these evils, it is time that this nation rose as one man and demanded a speedy return to specie payments.

I see no reason why Buffalo should not become a great manufacturing city. We are so situated that manufactures may be distributed by lake navigation, by canal and by railroad, cheaply and expeditiously in all directions. These advantages seem to point out Buffalo as the grand depot for manufactured articles of the West.

When I look around upon this vast intelligent audience and recollect what has brought them together, I feel that this is one of the proudest days that Buffalo has ever seen. It gives promise of a bright future. May we not be deceived.

In concluding these brief remarks, and before yielding the floor to the orator of the evening, I trust you will pardon me for some allusion to a somewhat delicate subject in which you, especially, and the community, generally, are deeply interested. I allude to what are called "trades unions" and "strikes." There is nothing more natural—and where the object to be obtained is both lawful and proper, nothing more reasonable and just—than for men to unite together for the purpose of promoting their several interests. We see this exemplified in political parties; in associations for the advancement of moral and religious objects; and more recently by the farmers in their Granges to protect their interests against what they deem oppressive and unjust railroad monopolies.

Mechanical labor has for a long time in England, and more recently in this country, formed combinations to protect itself against capital, thereby to a certain extent array-

ing capital and labor in hostility to each other; whereas they are mutually dependent upon each other, and should be friends. Capital can not be used profitably without labor, nor labor without capital. By capital I do not mean money merely, but real and personal property generally. The farm without labor to till it, lies a barren waste; the machinery without skilled labor to manage it produces nothing; and even money itself, unless it can be employed is a drug, and too often a curse to the holder.

A combination among mechanics to protect and advance their own interests is quite natural, and when kept within proper bounds is neither unlawful nor morally wrong; but when it assumes the power of dictation and coercion instead of persuasion it clearly exceeds its prerogative and is guilty of a wrong that organized society can never tolerate. It is of the very essence of liberty, that every man should be protected in his person and property, and be permitted to pursue any lawful calling without interference or molestation from any other person. No man should put himself in a situation to be dictated to by others. If he does, he is no longer independent and free—and especially where he sees fit to maintain his independence by refusing to join any association, he should resist with the utmost of his power any attempt by force to compel him to do that which his judgment and conscience disapprove. Subscription to such tyranny is the basest of slavery, which no freeman with a spark of independence will submit to.

As to strikes, if they are ever to be tolerated, it must be when oppression has become unendurable, and all peaceable arrangements by negotiation or arbitration have failed—and even then they should never extend beyond a refusal on the part of those striking to work for the wages offered.

The whole social world is so connected together that any sudden interruption of the ordinary affairs of life by a strike causes great suffering even to the innocent, for

> " . . . Whatever link you strike,
> Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike."

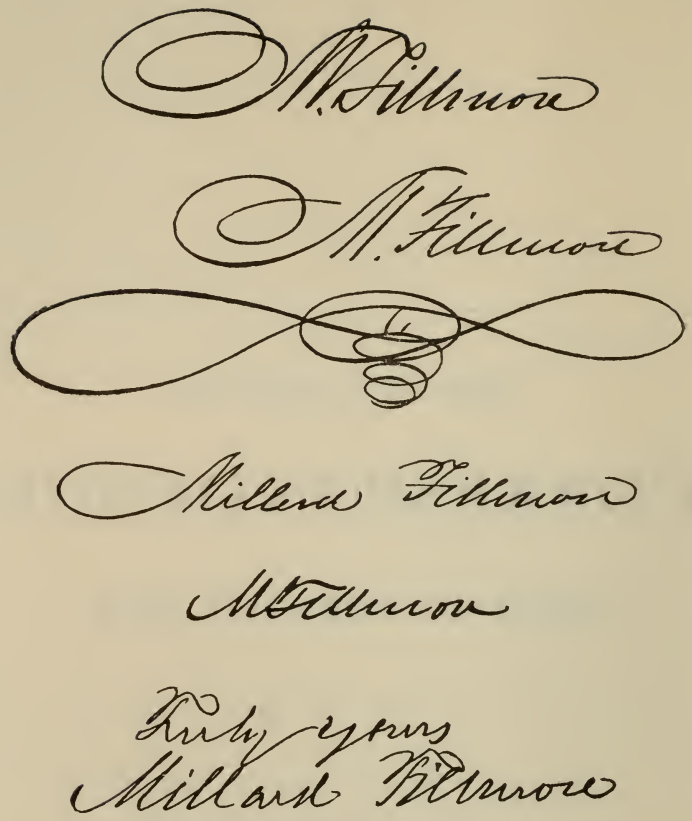
It deranges business and destroys confidence, and spreads its baleful influence far and wide in every direction.

But finally, whether a man should ever join a trades union is a point on which I shall hazard no advice; different men will entertain different views on that subject; but for myself I must say, I never was and I never could be, persuaded to join any association that should have the power to dictate to me when I should work and when I should stop; what wages I should receive and what wages I should refuse; and the thought of such a humiliating position would be too painful to be endured. Whatever else I may have in this world, independence and freedom are the gifts of my Creator which I never intend to surrender to any man or association of men.

MISCELLANEOUS

CORRESPONDENCE

PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR



FACSIMILES OF MILLARD FILLMORE'S SIGNATURE.

In earlier years he wrote with a flourish; then he dropped the flourish and spelled his given name "Millerd" (see p. 151). While in Congress he usually signed himself "M. Fillmore," running the "M" and "F" together. In later years his characteristic signature is larger, with the first name written in full.

MILLARD FILLMORE'S

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE

PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

The following pages contain such personal and miscellaneous letters written by Mr. Fillmore as the editor has been able to find. Mr. Fillmore's official correspondence, as Comptroller of New York State, as Vice-President and President of the United States, is printed in preceding pages of this collection.

When the following letters have been copied for this publication from the original manuscript, Mr. Fillmore's own peculiarities of spelling, capitalization, etc., have been followed, and the ownership of the original stated. When the letters have been found only in printed form, it has, of course, been impossible to know the peculiarities of the original, but the source from which they are drawn is indicated.

An occasional reference is made in the notes to the preceding volume of this series (Vol. X. of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications), which is indicated as "I. Fillmore."

A COUNTRY SCHOOL-TEACHER'S PAY IN 1821.

WALES, Erie Co., Oct. 12, 1821.

[*To* WILLIAM SLADE, *Sempronius, N. Y.*]

DEAR SIR: Feeling full confidence in you as a friend I here enclose to you an epistle which I wish you to keep in *safe custody* until you have an opportunity to deliver it to the person to whom it is directed if that person be in your town if not deliver it to some trusty person enclosed in a wraper [*sic*] who will convey it safe to the destined place.

I think I shall tarry here this winter—they have offered me $13. per month to teach school in the dist. where my father resides. they will pay me all their public money—they drew last year $27.40. [They] have since had about 20 scholars added to their Dist. the remainder they will pay in wheat rye & corn—wheat at $.75 corn and rye $.50 per bushel, so that I may reasonably expect $7. in cash and $6. in grain at the above prices. I am to begin the 1st of Oct. and teach 4 months.

Please to write to me and tell all the news. I should write more but it is late and tomorrow I have agreed to assist a friend in two law suits which commence at 7 o'clock A. M. and the bearer Mr. Dibble starts next day for Semp^{s} [Sempronius].

I remain you[r] sincere friend,

M. FILLMORE.

W. SLADE, *Esq^{r}.*

Please to direct your letters to *Aurora,* Erie county, &c.

WILLIAM SLADE, *Esq^{r}*

Sempronius.

To the politeness of Mr. Dibble

Original MS. owned by Miss G. Adelaide Slade, Hamilton, N. Y.

This letter was written to Miss Slade's father, William Slade, Esq., of Kelloggsville, Cayuga Co., N. Y., when young Fillmore was teaching school at Aurora and studying law at the same time. Miss Slade writes: "Mr. Fillmore's first wife, Abigail Powers, was cousin to my grandmother Slade, and as there was no postoffice in Kelloggsville, Mr. Fillmore sent his letters to my father to hand to Miss Powers."

AN EARLY RECEIPT.

Received of Alvin Dodge & William Hodge, Trustees of District number two in Buffalo, nineteen dollars & seventy-three cents, in full for my services, for teaching school in said district.

M. FILLMORE.

Buffalo, April 2, 1823.

Printed in Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Mch. 9, 1874.

RESIGNING A MILITIA OFFICE.

BUFFALO, July 28, 1830.

To Brigadier General HEMAN B. POTTER,

SIR: The undersigned would respectfully represent that he now holds the office of Brigade Major and Inspector of the 47th Brigade of Infantry of the militia of the State of New York, and that having done duty ever since he was of the age of eighteen years, and held an office at some considerable expense for the last seven years, which interfered considerably with his private business, he is induced to resign said office, and does hereby resign the same: And your petitioner respectfully solicits; that you will be pleased to accept this his resignation, and grant him a discharge.

Brig. Maj. & Insp't of the 47th Brigade of Inft of N. Y. M.

Original MS. owned by Buffalo Historical Society.

As the facsimile signature shows, Mr. Fillmore at this period wrote his first name "Millerd." This letter had not come to the editor's notice when the note on p. 43, I. Fillmore, was written.

SUGGESTS JUSTICE M'LEAN FOR PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9, 1833.

To His Honor JOHN MCLEAN,

SIR: Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, yet I take the liberty of saying who I am, and suggesting a hint on the subject of the next presidential election.

And as to myself, I am a representative from the 32d Congressional district of the state of New York composed of the county of Erie, and reside in the city of Buffalo, and am of course an antimason.

I am satisfied that a great majority of my constituents and indeed of the electors of the western part of the state are opposed to Mr. Van Buren for the presidency, and would prefer you to any other candidate, which, I need not add, are my own sentiments. But nothing has been yet done to place you distinctly before the public as a candidate, and I conceive it a matter of some delicacy but of great importance that the first movement in this matter, should be discreet and well timed.

The decision of this question involves the consideration of time, place and the persons by whom it should be made.

1st. As to the *time*. I would respectfully suggest that it should be done *immediately* unless there be some insupperable or at least weighty objection. Van B. being in the field and there being no concentrated point to the opposition, and Congress and the legislatures of the several states being in Session, when questions of a political nature are daily agitated, it gives to him and his partizans a decided advantage, which would be counteracted by having his opponent known around whom we could rally.

2d. As to the *place*. This must necessarily be governed in a great measure by the persons who are selected to make the nomination. If by a national convention, Baltimore or Philadelphia would be regarded as central. If by a caucus of members of the state legislatures, then the places of their

meeting, and if by the people in their primary assemblies, then where they reside. Either or all of these modes may be resorted to. But,

3d. As to the *persons*. It has been suggested to me today by some of the Pennsylvania Delegation, that the Jackson Anti Van Buren part of the legislature of that state might be induced immediately to come out and make the nomination.

It strikes me this would be good policy. It would present you as the democratic candidate of the Jackson party of that state, around whom all those of that party opposed to Van B. might rally without being charged with having joined the nationals or opposition; and the nationals and antimasons would fall in of course. This course would insure to you the state of Penna. and I am satisfied that the moment that state is safe against Van B. and the electors of New York are satisfied of the fact, that we can also carry New York against him.

What I wish to suggest is that if you are willing to be a candidate you should signify that to us here, and if you approve of the suggestion that you and your immediate friends there should exert your influence in Penna. to produce the desired result.

I have written this line in much haste and without much reflection or any consultation. I shall therefore wait with some anxiety your more matured views on this important subject.

Your directions as to the use to be made of any communication from you shall be strictly obeyed.

I am with considerations of high respect and esteem

Your most Obt. Servt.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. in Library of Congress.

The foregoing letter bears the following endorsement by William McLean:

"Capt. Taylor and I have opened this letter and read it. It is a good one, and we want all the news on this subject. I wish to God the Legislature of Pennsylvania could be induced to act promptly in this matter. Nothing new here. Things look fair. Keep a good heart and stiff upper lip. Will write you after the Van B. meeting here Friday night next. They work in the dark cant find out what they are doing. BILL."

A FAMILIAR NOTE TO THURLOW WEED.

[? 1834]

DEAR WEED: Just came in and received your kind note to dine. Sorry I can't come, but I have some writing that must be done before the mail closes. Drink lightly—Remember *"shallow drafts,"* &c., but don't think to get sober by drinking deeply. In haste

FILLMORE.

Tuesday 3 P. M.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

WAR OF 1812 CLAIMS.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1834.

[*To* HEMAN B. POTTER]

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 17th came to hand on the 28th and I have found Mr. Allen's papers and presented them again and had them again referred to the committee of claims. It appears from the Journal of the house that that committee reported against the claim in 1830. I can not find that any written report was made or ascertain the ground on which it was reported against. I apprehend however that they deemed the proof insufficient for so stale a demand.

The claim is for forage furnished our army while at Fort George during the last war. He states that he resided in Canada, and occupied a farm about 1 mile from the fort. That a person acting in the quarter master's department agreed to give him $500. for certain grass and wheat growing for forage and came and cut and carried it away. This person's name he thinks was Hoyt or Hyde, he don't seem to know.

Abram Forbes [1] swears to the contract with this unknown or unnamed personage. But gives no circumstances shew-

1. This name is printed in the *Congressional Globe* as "Abraham Fobes." *See* I. Fillmore, pp. 86-88.

ing *when* the contract was made or *how* he came to hear it. Ezra St. John swears that he was waggon Master and they foraged about that vicinity *where* this farm occupied by Allen was said to lie. And this is all the proof. You must see that it is rather slight.

I applied to the Secy of the Colonization Society for the numbers which you desired of the African Rep[ository] and he said he would get them and send them to my room. This was last Saturday. They have not arrived and I dropped him a note to day. Judge Stryker arrived here day before yesterday. I will send them by him.

I am Respectfully Yours
(In haste)

M. FILLMORE.

Gen'l H. B. POTTER.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo, N. Y.

MARTIN VAN BUREN'S POLITICAL CONDUCT.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10, 1834.

DEAR WEED: Immediately on my arrival here I told the clerk to order me your semiweekly paper on Gov't ac/ He tells me has done it, but yet I have not rec'd it. Will you look to it?

An anti Van Buren man here is extremely anxious to know if there is any evidence that can be furnished satisfactorily to establish the two following points.

1st That Van B. attended a caucus for the purpose of opposing the election of Madison and procuring that of Dewitt Clinton,

2nd That he actually voted for the Clinton electors in our senate and against the Madison electors.

"Old Specks" [1] says the Senate journals of 1812 shew the latter fact.

Will you either collect and publish the *records* and evidence of these facts or forward them to me?

1. The editor has been unable to fix the identity of "Old Specks."

I am informed that White of Tennessee is not a mason and never has been. This I learned to-day from a man who told me he asked him. *Tell this to our friends there.* Let me hear from you by letter.

I am, &c.

M. FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

CONFIDENTIAL PRESIDENT-MAKING.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 28, 1834.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 15th came to hand some days since and of the 22d this morning. I have been confined in my room for some days with a severe cold. I was out yesterday and to day feel quite well. I have little more intelligence on the subject of President making—I find that Clay and his friends cling to the last hope. His ambition is as insatiable as that of Julius Cesar. It has so swallowed up judgement and reason, and I think I may say PATRIOTISM, that he sees no obstacles in the present state of parties to his triumphant election to the presidency. I think he has but few friends now that encourage him. Among these are Vance of Ohio, Allen & Letcher of Kentucky and some of the *forlorn hope* from Louisiana. But I only know the opinion of these persons from hear say. I have not conversed with any of them. And finally I may say that I have not conversed with any member from any quarter of the Union who would say that he thought either Clay or Webster stood any chance of success. But here is *"Old Specks"* doing infinite mischief on this subject. With a zeal worthy of a better cause, an industry that never tires, and a devotion to Clay that dispair itself could never shake or dampen, he is doing everything to keep him on the course. It is not for you or me to calculate the extent of this pernicious influence. We regard him as a hackneyed politician, possessed of talent and political information, but so strongly suspected of a want of integrity that he might be regarded as a dead

weight upon any party. But whatever may be said of him in our State where he is better known, this is not the position he occupies here. He knows every body, sees every body, corresponds with every body, and gives a tone to public sentiment throughout the Union that it is difficult to appreciate and still more difficult to counteract. He is laboring day and night to prevent Clay from declining. His course in this matter is so reckless and so unwise as an opponent to Van B. that I am almost inclined to think he must be secretly in his employ. But here we are—no help for us. I think after all Clay will not decline.

The last reason urged against his declension, is that it will not do, until the elections have been held in Kentucky and some of the other Southern States for members of Congress, lest it might distract the friends of the opposition. By that time Van B. will be in possession of the whole Jackson party and his *declension* will be of no consequence. He will find himself *declining* fast enough without any act of his.

I should not be surprised to hear that Webster was nominated by the Legislature of Mass. Some of his friends here are in favor of it—some opposed to it. I regard it in any point of view as the most extreme folly. Websters friends think Clay should have the course, and Clays think Webster should, and all honest and intelligent men agree with both. I think it doubtful whether White could get the north if he runs. If he is distinctly the *Southern* candidate against Van B. as the *Northern* ought we to, or can we support him? I am not aware that anything like organized measures have been adopted to induce Clay or Webster to decline. Nothing could be *effectually* done, but by their most intimate friends, and you must be aware how difficult it is to prevail on them to do it, and how painful to them the performance of the act. All men hate to be the bearers of unwelcome news, or the instruments of unwelcome advice.

We have nothing new except what appears by the papers. Rumor says, however, that a day or two since when the Rev. O. B. Brown of Post office notoriety was under ex-

amination, a probing question was put to him which brought this Reverend Divine to a full stop, and caused the perspiration to flow copiously at every pore. That some of the committee regardless of the sanctity of this devout man pressed the inquiry, and he was compelled to respond. When lo! it appeared that this faithful officer, and sanctified priest had been sharing in the SPOILS by having an interest in some of those extraordinary and corrupting *Extra allowances* which have bankrupted that department. But the facts in relation to this are not disclosed. The committee are busily engaged and have leave to sit during the session of the House.

I would cheerfully write occasionally for publication if I could. But I have neither *time* nor *tact*.

Let me hear from you as often as convenient and believe me Truly your friend

M. FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

A REQUEST FOR INFORMATION.

HOUSE OF REP. Jany 5, 1835.

Hon M[AHLON] DICKERSON,
Secy. of the Navy,

DR. SIR: Will you be so kind as to furnish me with a copy of *all the rules and regulations now* in force for the government of the Navy, and regulating the *pay and allowances* to the officers of the Navy?

I have the honor to be
Your most obt. servt.
M. FILLMORE.

Original MS. in files of Navy Dept.
Endorsed: "Answer according to facts," [and 2d] "Ansd. 6th Jany 1835."

TO BUFFALO ATTORNEYS.

WASHINGTON, Jany 20, 1835.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 12th inst. enclosing one to the Hon. John Mason came to hand this morning, and on

inquiry at the State department I found you were correct in supposing that he resided at Georgetown. I therefore as directed enclosed the letter to him at that place.

I regret to hear that the Daniel Webster is burned. And that there is reason to suspect that it is the act of an incendiary.

Gen'l P. B. Porter called on me this morning. He arrived here last evening and says he shall tarry but a day or two. I remain

Yours truly,

M. Fillmore.

Messrs. Potter & Babcock.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo, N. Y.
The lake steamboat Daniel Webster was burned, at Buffalo, Jan. 11, 1835.

THE SEAMEN'S TAX FOR MARINE HOSPITALS.

House of Representatives, January 21, 1835.

Mr. [Hezekiah A.] Salisbury:

By an Act of Congress, passed on the 16th day of July, 1798, a tax of twenty cents per month is imposed upon all *Seamen,* which is paid by the Master to the Collectors of the several ports, and they are required to make a quarterly return of the amount received by them to the Secretary of the Treasury. This Act further provides that the moneys thus collected shall be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, in providing "for the temporary relief and maintenance of sick or disabled Seamen in the hospitals or other proper institutions now established in ports of the United States, or in ports where no such institutions exist, then in such other manner as he shall direct."

This act also provides that the surplus moneys after defraying the expenses of such temporary relief, shall be vested in the stocks of the United States, and when in the opinion of the President a sufficient fund is accumulated, he

is authorized to purchase or receive by donation, in the name of the United States, or to erect suitable buildings "as *hospitals* for the accommodation of *sick and disabled Seamen.*"

By another Act passed on the 2d of March, 1779,[1] the President is authorized to expend such money in any state where it is collected, or any adjoining state, except such as may be collected in the New England States. It also requires the same tax to be levied upon the "officers, seamen and marines of the U. S. Navy," and authorizes the same to be deducted from their pay, and gives to them "the same benefits & advantages" which are granted to sick and disabled seamen by the Act of 1798.

By another Act passed on the 3d of May, 1832, the moneys thus collected are constituted a general fund to be used by the President "for the benefit and convenience of sick and disabled American Seamen." This Act also imposes a similar tax upon persons navigating the Mississippi, and extends to them the benefits arising from said fund.

The increasing commerce of Buffalo, and my duty to the hardy mariners of our lakes, as well [as] my other constituents, induced me to enter into an investigation to see what amount of money had been collected at that port, and what had been expended, and to endeavor to make provisions for the erection of a MARINE HOSPITAL at that place, for the accommodation of sick and disabled seamen.

I was surprised to find on inquiry that the whole amount collected was only $824.76, and that the amount expended had been $471.00, and still more surprised to find that nothing had been collected at that port from the year 1807 to the year 1830, as will appear from the following statement of the amount of hospital money collected at New-York, Sag Harbor, and Buffalo, from 1802 to 1833.

[The statement shows amounts of hospital money received and expended at New York, Sag Harbor and Buffalo, by years, from 1802 to 1833 inclusive. New York received $358,357.12, and expended $379,826.04. Sag Harbor received $5,304.72, and expended $333.02. Buffalo received $824.76, and expended $471.]

1. So printed, but an error for Mch. 2, 1799.

I immediately addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury enquiring into this extraordinary deficiency, and asked him the cause of it.

I received from him the enclosed reply, which you will please publish for the information of those who have an interest in this matter.

I am respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Printed in Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Jan. 30, 1835. Mr. Salisbury was its editor.

Jan. 16, 1835, Mr. Fillmore wrote to Hon. Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury:

"I perceive by a report made by your Department to the Senate on the 6th December, 1834, in obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the 26th June last, on the subject of the Hospital money, that no credit is given for any moneys collected at Buffalo, from the year 1807 to the year 1830. I also perceive by a report just made to the House of Representatives, that this fact is confirmed. Can you inform me what is the cause of this remarkable hiatus?"

The Secretary's reply included letters from the Comptroller, Joseph Anderson, and others, to the effect that the tax on seamen for the support of hospitals was not intended to apply to the districts of the Lakes, and that, with a few exceptions, the tax had not been collected. The exceptions, down to 1830, were: Buffalo, 1805, '06 and '07, $20.66; Presqu' Isle, 1805, '06, $9.79; Detroit, 1802 to 1807, $37.53. In 1830 the Secretary of the Treasury directed the Collector of the Port of Buffalo Creek to collect the tax of twenty cents per month of actual employment from each lake seaman, making rendezvous in Buffalo. Up to February, 1835, there had been so collected $1170.12, allowed by the Treasury Department $903.34, and expended for sick and disabled sailors $1450.31. There was a strong effort made at the time to procure a marine hospital at Buffalo.

PENSIONS FOR VETERANS OF THE REVOLUTION, PAYABLE AT BUFFALO.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, February 11, 1835.

MR. [HEZEKIAH A.] SALISBURY,

DEAR SIR: I am at a loss to know the meaning or origin of an advertisement in your paper in the following words:

Albany Pension Agency.—We are requested to state, for the information of those United States pensioners under the Act of June 7, 1832, who reside in this State north and west of the counties of Ulster, Dutchess and Sullivan, that their pensions will in future be paid at the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank in this city.

Editors of all the papers published in the counties north and west of those above named, are requested to give the above information one or two conspicuous insertions in their columns, and to send their bills to the Pension Agency for adjustment.

Albany, Jan. 28.

Understanding from some source which I do not now recollect that it was intended to discontinue the Pension Agency at Buffalo, and require the Pensioners in the Western part of the State to receive their money at Albany, and considering this great injustice to these "war-worn veterans of a by-gone age," I introduced a resolution into the House directing the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions to enquire into the expediency of establishing an Agency at Buffalo, and addressed a letter to the Secretary of War to know whether the Agency had been or was intended to be discontinued at that place; and in reply received from him and J. L. Edwards, Esq., the Commissioner of Pensions, the letters of which the enclosed are copies, and which I wish you to publish for the information of all interested in this matter.

You will perceive that these letters state that the Agency for paying pensions at Buffalo had not been discontinued, and that the Pensioners can continue to draw their stipends at the United States Branch Bank at that place.

I need not, and will not comment upon the great injustice that would be done these old soldiers by compelling them at great expense and delay to send off 300 or 400 miles to obtain this small pittance of their country's gratitude, merely that some *pet Bank* may be favored with a temporary use of the money. I am gratified to say it has not been done, and am, as I said, surprised to see such an advertisement in your paper, and at a loss to account for its origin.

I am your most obed't serv't

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Feb. 18, 1835.

The letters enclosed with the above were from Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and J. L. Edwards, Commissioner of Pensions. Their purport is sufficiently stated by Mr. Fillmore.

IN THE RATHBUN ASSIGNMENT.

BUFFALO, Augt. 7, 1837.

In Chancery:

HIRAM PRATT *& others, Assignees,*
vs.
BENJAMIN RATHBUN *& others,*
his creditors.

DR. SIR: This cause will be ready for a hearing on the Bill taken as confessed by all the defendants at the next term. I think you wrote us that you should appear for the Ontario Bank but never gave us any formal notice. I send you notice of hearing and copy for admission. Please admit service and return it.

The assignees wish you to attend to getting the order of reference and I wish you would make a draft of it and let us see it as soon as convenient.

Questions. 1. Can it be referred to one master here and another in N. York, and if so would it be best?

2. Can we examine the defts. themselves *on oath,* to shew *usury?* without an offer to *pay* or *allow* what is found due? Will the late statute have any effect on this question?

3. Can they be examined on oath to prove any equitable defence to their claims, or set off?

4. Will the Chancellor order the master to proceed at once, or will all have to wait for the public notice in the papers?

5. Can the master be authorized to take proof for or against a claim *within the state* by depositions taken before another master or examiner on interrogatories?

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

[*Free*] M. FILLMORE, M. C.

JOHN C. SPENCER, *Esq.,*
Canandaigua,
N. Y.

Dreer collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

TO THURLOW WEED, ON THE SAFETY FUND SYSTEM.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9, 1837.

DEAR WEED: I had anticipated the pleasure of seeing you on my way hither, but was compelled to attend a court in Ohio, that detained me so late that I was under necessity of coming the shortest way (through Pittsburgh) to this place. I arrived here late on Sunday evening before the session. All that has taken place since worth communicating, you know. But I now take my pen, in haste, to barely make a suggestion, that may go for what it is worth. We, Whigs, are placed in a peculiar and somewhat delicate position, and all will agree that it is important, that we act in concert with the Whig press, as far as practicable; else we paralyze the efforts of each other. Van B[uren] has taken ground against all banks, national and state, and is no doubt expecting that we will take the other side of this issue, and if we do not directly ask for a U. S. Bank, at least become the advocates of the State Banks. Now I am not prepared, nor do I think it good policy to do the one or the other. I can go thus far and no farther. I am in favor of a well regulated credit system, but I am distinctly and unqualifiedly opposed to the debased, corrupted and corrupting safety fund system of our State. It may not be necessary to extirpate it, but it must be *reformed.* It must be *purged* and *thoroughly purged* before any honest man ought to contaminate himself by ever coming in contact with it, except for the purpose of condemning it.

I therefore do hope that our friends (if they concur with me) will not touch the "unclean thing." The system had its origin in political *fraud,* it was conceived, brought forth, nurtured, and reared to its present gigantic strength to be prostituted to partisan and political purposes. It has been thus used by the present dominant party, until every honest man looks upon it with loathing and disgust. It is about to share the common fate of its unholy alliance. It is to be cast aside and trodden under foot by those unprincipled

wretches that have debauched and debased it. But shall we now embrace it? Heaven forbid! Let the "CONSERVATIVES" who have unnecessarily acted as the pimps and panders of this foul amalgamation take this common bawd to themselves. They have shared in the unholy profits of this incestuous union. They have the wages of sin in their pockets in the shape of bank stock. I regret, sincerely regret, that any of our friends, or any honest man, is connected with these institutions in our state. A day of awful retribution is at hand, and to shield them from it, would be interposing to avert the just vengeance of Heaven. As we have invariably condemned their conduct, let us leave them to their fate.

But I took up my pen more particularly to say that I feared the bad effect of an article in your paper a day or two since, recommending that the Whigs ask a restoration of the deposits to the U. S. Bank. I doubt [*MS. cut*] of the currency could do nothing that would be [*MS. cut*] from it, and it would be charged as a failure.

2nd, because the bare suggestion of such a thing by the Whigs, calls up to the minds of the *faithful* the ghost of the monster. 3rd, Because we should take the responsibility of recommending it without being able to carry it, thereby incurring all the odium of the recommendation without any redeeming quality from its good effects. My advice is, *do nothing,* but canvass the subjects they propose. Matters are fast hastening to a crisis. We shall soon see whether the people will take *Bank rags* while all the specie is *hoarded* by the office holders. We shall see whether the people are desirous of creating a new host of executive officers, to *tax them* and then collect the money in gold and silver and keep it until they want it to pay *themselves,* while the poor, hard laboring people are suffering for the want of it. It cant be so. If V. Buren carries out his scheme half of the property in the country will be in the hands of capitalists, money lenders & usurers in less than 5 years. The debtor part of [the] community will have nothing left. But I have written

more than I intended, and in too much haste for method. I need hardly [say] it is *confidential.* Let me hear from you.

[MILLARD FILLMORE.]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

BUFFALO HARBOR INTERESTS.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1838.
Saturday evening.

GENTS: As our citizens justly feel a deep interest in the protection of our harbor, from injuries by the inundations of the Lake, I enclose you a letter from the Secretary of War, and another from the head of the Engineer Department, showing that the survey of Lieut. Brown is received and approved by that department, and, if not too late, I think we shall obtain the requisite appropriation. I received the enclosed this evening, and intend to see the Committee of Ways and Means, to whom the subject is referred, on Monday morning.

Respectfully Yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

The foregoing was sent to the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* in which it was printed, Jan. 23, 1838.

The enclosures are a letter from Charles Gratiot, Chief Engineer, U. S. A., acknowledging receipt of communications from the Buffalo Common Council; and from J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, favoring an appropriation for the object in question.

TO THURLOW WEED, MARKED "PRIVATE."

WASHINGTON, Jany 31, 1838.

DEAR WEED: You will see by the proceedings of the House to day, that Claiborn[e] and Gholson are declared *not entitled* to seats in the House, thereby reversing or *expunging* the outrageous decision of the special session. The administration having failed in retaining these men for 2 years who were only elected by the people for 3 months, are now

prepared in the madness of desperation to do a damning deed of infamy, that I trust will adhere to them with the fatal effects of the shirt of Nessus. They mean to deprive Prentiss and Word of their seats, also, and leave the State without representation.

That you may know what is said, I enclose you a letter from A. Tyler, full of good sense and sound views. Who is he? I do not recollect him. I send copy of my answer. Please return his letter.

Yours In haste,

M. FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

AS REPRESENTATIVE, TO A CONSTITUENT.

WASHINGTON, Feby 15, 1838.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 9th inst. asking that I would procure for you a little of the celebrated corn which is furnished by Mr. Ellsworth came to hand last evening. He sent me a few kernels once, but on reading the description accompanying it, I was satisfied it was aclimated to a more southern climate than ours, and therefore thought it hardly worth while to try it. I will however try to get some and send you by the first conveyance, and hope it may prove an *experiment that will not fail.*

I am your friend

MILLARD FILLMORE.

DOCT C. CHAPIN, Buffalo, N. Y.

Original MS. owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

DECLINING AN INVITATION.

Mr. & Mrs. Fillmore regret that indisposition will deprive them of the pleasure of accepting Mr. & Mrs. Polk's polite invitation to visit them this evening.

Thursday, March 12, 1838.

Polk collection, Library of Congress.

A SPEECH NOT FULLY REPORTED.

WASHINGTON, March 20, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Your paper of the 16th has this moment come to hand. I see that in publishing my remarks on the affair of the Caroline you omitted two paragraphs containing the whole discription of the outrage. Was this by design? If so, there is undoubtedly a good reason with which on suggestion I shall be fully satisfied. But it certainly gives me a very *awkward* appearance.

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

P. S. I have more confidence that we shall defeat the Sub Treasury. I shall know more anon and will write you again.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.
See I. Fillmore, pp. 135-137.

BUFFALO AND CANAL INTERESTS.

WASHINGTON, May 22, 1838.

DEAR SIR: Although I do not see much advantage to result from your canal meeting, yet I do not see that it will be likely to do much harm. I suppose friend Allen wishes to shew that he goes for Buffalo, notwithstanding the canal around the Falls. Is not this all?

Nothing new. Yours &c. In haste

M. FILLMORE.

G[EORGE] R. BABCOCK, *Esq.*

[Buffalo]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo, N. Y.
The allusion is to Lewis F. Allen, an ardent advocate of Buffalo's interests.

IN THE ROLE OF SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

HOUSE OF REP. May 30, 1838.

DEAR WEED: We got the joint resolution from the Senate this morning, repealing the specie circular, and in a little

more than one hour after it was announced, passed it through all the forms of legislation by a vote of 154 to 29. This is glory enough for one day.

I enclose you an article for publication. It has been drawn in haste. You can make any alteration you please. I am only anxious for the sake of doing justice between Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay on the subject, that the truth should go forth as to the exact authorship of each in the resolution.

I see an effort making to give Clay the entire credit. This is unjust. If the one who first originated the measure in the precise language in which it has finally passed be entitled to the credit of it, then Mr. W. should have that credit.

We are discussing the Cherokee treaty.

[MILLARD FILLMORE.]

P. S. As I write in haste I have made a boy copy it.

Original MS. copy owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y. An examination of the files of the Albany *Evening Journal* has failed to discover any article which could be pronounced as Fillmore's. If his contribution was used, there was no signature to identify it as his work.

ISSUES DISCUSSED WITH THURLOW WEED.

HOUSE OF REP. June 4, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 1st inst. came to hand last evening. We have just rec'd the news of the Ohio convention at Columbus. A letter states that there were at least 4,000 delegates, they approved of the national convention, appointed senatorial delegates to attend it, and *unanimously* recommended Harrison for a nomination for President.

I do not mean to complain of anything which you have *said* or *done* on the Gubernatorial nomination. But I have seen with regret, an anxiety and zeal manifested on this subject by some of our friends, that I feared might lead us into difficulty. I can say with great sincerity that I can give a most hearty and cheerful support to Seward, Granger or

Bradish, for that office. If I have any personal predilection it is for Seward, but if possible in this all important struggle, I would sink every personal friendship and feeling, and where all are so competent, look alone to the increased chances of success. We are to have a terrible struggle. We have nothing to spare. Our sole object should be to select that candidate least assailable by our opponents and most likely to combine the feelings and support of our friends. I think our conservative friends would prefer Bradish. The reason is obvious. They have not heretofore had occasion to oppose him. The Clay men prefer Seward, as they regard his toast in N. York as an enlistment under the Clay banner. The Harrison men would probably prefer Granger for a like reason, that he has been a candidate with Harrison already and is therefore rather identified with Harrison. But from what you say I am inclined to think Seward now stands the best chance of a nomination. Let me then give you as a mutual friend a word of caution; for I hold no correspondence with either of the candidates. You are aware that the Land question which has given us so much trouble in the Western part of the State is a smothered volcano. The materials for explosion and destruction to us, in that our strong hold, are all there, and only want igniting to throw everything into a state of confusion. Knowing these facts I was surprised to see Seward, apparently making a political tour in company with Lay and Cary, two of the principal proprietors of that company. I know the mutual friendship that exists between them. I doubt not the perfect honesty of intention by all, but you will see that where it is so easy to excite a jealousy against our candidates to the suspicious mind such circumstances would be

"Proof as strong as holy writ."

that in electing the agent of this company governor, those interested had some sinister, ulterior design, prejudicial to the interest of the settlers upon this land. I need not say that when such a jealousy is once excited, with the slightest circumstances to countenance it, our strong vote in the

Western district will be in great jeopardy. I say this to you confidentially, but with the utmost frankness, and good feeling to all concerned.

I regret extremely the feeling that exists between Tracy and Seward. *You know* where my sympathies lie on this subject. It has been with some difficulty that I have brought myself to speak thus freely on this subject of this letter where all are friends, and where even a word of caution, that I deemed so necessary, may be misconstrued. But you at least will appreciate my motive.

I write in haste, listening to a speech of Biddle, but I trust you will be able to understand me.

Yours truly,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

TO THURLOW WEED.

HOUSE OF REP. June 11, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 8th came to hand last evening. I am glad to hear that you are making arrangements for publishing so large an edition of Bond's speech. He is preparing some additional tables, showing the profligate expenditure of public money for Russian and other similar missions, and giving the names of all members of Congress that have been appointed to office. As soon as these are ready I will send you a copy that you may add them.

We know nothing more definite as to the passage of the Sub-Treasury. Things look bad on our frontier.

This is resolution day. It exhibits queer variety.

Yours truly,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

TO THURLOW WEED.

BUFFALO, Augt. 31, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Yours from Utica was received. You see who our delegates are from this county. Our convention elected them *unanimously*.

I enclose a letter from Hall to your State executive committee. Do publish their names and address in your paper constantly.

Nothing new. All looks well here.

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1838.

BUFFALO, Oct. 2, 1838.

DEAR WEED: I accompanied Mr. Seward to Chautauque and returned on Sunday evening, when I received yours of the 27th. Mr. Seward returned last evening and has just left for home in the stage. We saw all our active intelligent friends in Fredonia, Westfield, Mayville & Jamestown, and from the best estimate they could make of our strength we will have 2003 majority. They arrived at this result from a detailed estimate by towns. I am happy to see that Mr. S[eward] is decidedly popular in that county on the land question. That subject is not yet agitated here.

Every thing in Erie appears remarkably well. Our convention is on the 11th. We choose delegates in the several wards of the city to night. We have made a detailed estimate of our vote in this county by towns, and *confidently hope* to give 2880, majority and possibly 3000. We shall have many Dutch votes.

[MILLARD FILLMORE.]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

"HEART-SICK OF OUR WHIG PARTY."

BUFFALO, Oct. 15, 1838.

DEAR WEED: You will see by the *Commercial* what *facts* we have as to the result of the election in Western Penna and Ohio. *Rumor* says we have lost Ohio, and I think it apparent we shall not gain Penna. This has thrown a wet blanket over our cause here, and unless something can be done to arouse them, this county will not give 2000 majority.

I see but one thing now that gives the least hope of success. Those interested in the Banks may see their danger and again burst the shackles of party, and come to our relief. If not all is gone. I regret that the Harrison flag was not *nailed* to our mast. It would have saved Ohio and gained Penna. and this State would have followed. But I now regard all as lost, irrevocably gone. It is even too late to retrace our steps. "The Philistines are upon us," and we shall never be able to burst the "green withes" of this golden chain of a Sub Treasury. Thank God! I can endure it as long as they, but I am heart sick of our Whig party. It can never be in the ascendancy. But I will say no more. Old Erie shall be the last spot that shall yield. We will stand alone amid the general desolation.

Yours truly,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

POLITICAL VIEWS IN 1838.

Mr. Fillmore's support of the right of petition merely by his vote, did not satisfy the abolitionists of his district, and left them in doubt as to the precise character of his views. When, therefore, in 1838, he was a candidate for reëlection, they addressed him a letter of inquiry, to which he made the following reply:

BUFFALO, October 17, 1838.

SIR: Your communication of the 15th inst., as chairman of a committee appointed by "The Anti-Slavery Society of the County of Erie," has just come to hand. You solicit my answer to the following interrogatories:

"1st. Do you believe that petitions to Congress on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, ought to be received, read, and respectfully considered by the representatives of the people?"

"2d. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas to this Union under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein?"

"3d. Are you in favor of Congress exercising all the constitutional power it possesses, to abolish the internal slave trade between the States?"

"4th. Are you in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

I am much engaged, and have no time to enter into an argument or to explain at length my reasons for my opinion. I shall, therefore, content myself for the present, by answering all your interrogatories in the affirmative, and leave for some future occasion a more extended discussion of the subject.

I would, however, take this occasion to say, that in thus frankly giving my opinion, I would not desire to have it understood in the nature of a pledge. At the same time that I seek no disguises, but freely give my sentiments on any subject of interest to those for whose suffrages I am a candidate, I am opposed to giving any pledges that shall deprive me hereafter of all discretionary power. My own character must be the guaranty for the general correctness of my legislative deportment. On every important subject I am bound to deliberate before I act, and especially as a legislator, to possess myself of all the information, and listen to every argument that can be adduced by my associates, before I give a final vote. If I stand pledged to a particular course of action, I cease to be a responsible agent,

but I become a mere machine. Should subsequent events show beyond all doubt that the course I had pledged to pursue was ruinous to my constituents and disgraceful to myself, I have no alternative, no opportunity for repentance, and there is no power to absolve me from my obligation. Hence the impropriety, not to say absurdity, in my view, of giving a pledge.

I am aware that you have not asked my pledge, and I believe I know your sound judgment and good sense too well to think you desire any such thing. It was, however, to prevent any misrepresentation on the part of others, that I have felt it my duty to say thus much on this subject.

I am, respectfully, your most ob't servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

W. MILLS, *Esq.*,
Chairman Erie County Anti-Slavery Society.

In 1850, when the admission of California was under discussion in the House, the foregoing letter of Mr. Fillmore was quoted by Andrew Johnson of Tennessee to prove that Mr. Fillmore, like Gen. Taylor, was on record as approving the institution of slavery. In this same speech (June 5th) Mr. Johnson said: "My position is, that Congress has no power to interfere with the subject of slavery; that it is an institution local in its character, and peculiar to the States where it exists, and no other power has the right to control it."

ELECTIONEERING IN ERIE COUNTY.

BUFFALO, Oct. 28, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Our prospects look well now in this county. I think the country towns never manifested more zeal and never have given a larger majority than will this time. Love and Tracy are both sick, confined to their rooms and have been since our county nominations, unable to do any thing, even to advise. This has thrown an immense labor and responsibility upon me. But I shall be able to go through with it. I go into the country towns tomorrow morning to spend the entire week. I go south and have made arrangements to have others go north.

Our city is more uncertain. I fear it will not come up to our estimate. Our candidate for the assembly from the

city is not entirely satisfactory; and it has dampened the zeal of some of our most active and efficient young men. I have however got them all to take hold of the general ticket, and they now work well.

Yours truly in haste

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

AS TO THE OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 2d is received and I regret more than you can that I did not see you at N. York. Where is Granger? He promised to write me in full if he did not see me.

I have not changed my mind any as to the propriety of my taking the office of comptroller, and I was sincerely in hopes that public opinion would take another direction more congenial to my feelings and more beneficial to the State and party. But as you and others seem to think that it is desirable and may become necessary that I make this sacrifice, I have just written to my partners to consult them on the subject. When I hear from them I intend to make up my mind definitely & *unalterably*. I do not wish to stand in a position that looks as though I had a false delicacy or coyness on the subject, for I have none. I speak, now, *frankly* what I think, and will soon say *positively,* what I will do.

I have received a letter from Tracy. He declines being a candidate for the office, as we both apprehended he would. He, however, manifests a desire that I should take it, and says if I will, he will do what he can to aid my success, and to insure it would withdraw any application on his part for the Senatorship. All this is very kind. But I cannot bring my mind to the idea of abandoning my profession, and subjecting myself to the caprice of popular favor or official patronage for a support. In other words I cannot well afford to make the pecuniary sacrifice which is required. I

made up my mind when I entered political life, never to go so far as to feel for a moment that I depended upon any office or any popular favor for a livelihood. That moment, I should lose my independence—I fear my integrity—He is miserable whose happiness

"—Hangs on Princes' favors"

But he is not only wretched, but infinitely degraded whose means of support depends upon the wild caprice of the ever-changing multitude. I can not become a slave to such a master. But enough—I will give the subject a candid consideration, and whether I shall accept or decline, I can not but feel flattered that I am thought worthy, and shall ever entertain a most grateful recollection of those who have thus manifested their confidence and proffered their kind offices. There is no man with whom I should be more willing to be associated, politically & socially, than Mr. Seward. I have entire confidence in his competence and integrity, and if the other State officers are such men as I doubt not they will be, it would be an honor to which my humble ambition has never aspired to mingle in the counsels of such an association.

We have nothing new here except what you see by the papers. I yesterday performed the melancholy duty of announcing the death of our late friend Mr. Patterson. We have done no business, but have adjourned over till Monday, to give the speaker time to appoint our committees.

It seems they are having a disgraceful *flare up* in organizing the Penna legislature.

I forgot to mention that Mr. Tracy utterly denies having written any such letter to Gov. Marcy. If it be true, it ought to be known. But I doubt not you have been imposed upon, and if so, I know you will cheerfully write me in opinion that justice ought to be done him by at once contradicting the report. In great haste, yours truly,

FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

This letter and the following show that Mr. Fillmore was regarded as a desirable candidate for New York State Comptroller, ten years before he came into that office.

REGARDING THE COMPTROLLERSHIP.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 4th is just received. If anything could induce me to make the sacrifice which I feel I should, by taking the office of Comptroller, it would be the hope and prospect of being useful to the long oppressed, but *free and noble West,* and particularly to my own darling city of Buffalo. My highest ambition would be gratified if I could connect my name with her rising greatness. It would be a monument as imperishable as adamant, and as immovable as the bed of Lake Erie. Could persuasion move me, so cordial a letter from so valued a friend could not fail to produce the desired effect, but I fear your partiality has induced you to place too high a value upon my services in that station, and that the interest of those I hold most dear, would be as well, if not better consulted by my declining the office. The subject however having been pressed beyond what I anticipated, I have written my partners to see whether any arrangement can be made in our professional business that will admit of my abandoning it. When I hear from them I intend to give a definite and *unalterable* answer.

Accept my most cordial expressions of gratitude for the friendly interest you have taken in this matter, and believe me truly, Your sincere friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

CAPT. T[HADDEUS] JOY.

Original MS. owned by Mr. Walter J. Shepard, Buffalo, N. Y.

THE COMPTROLLERSHIP DECLINED.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 1838.

DEAR WEED: It seems to be necessary that I decide without further delay whether I am willing to stand as a candidate for the office of Comptroller. I can not but feel flattered that so many of my friends have thought me worthy

of the station, and I certainly feel extremely grateful to all of them who have honored me with a spontaneous offer to aid in elevating me to that high and responsible office. But I have corresponded with my partners in business, and given to the subject the most anxious and deliberate consideration, of which I am capable, and have come to the conclusion that I must decline the honor. It is hardly necessary to mention reasons as you know them all, and can explain them to any who desire to hear them. But I may be pardoned for saying to *you,* that, I am very diffident of my ability to discharge the duties of that delicate and difficult trust. I fear that I might lack the requisite financial skill, and the high, unbending moral firmness which alone can guide that new banking-craft, safely through the breakers and quicksands of attempted frauds, and knavish impositions. I fear that the partiality of my friends has induced them to look with too favorable an eye upon my qualifications for this station. But if I were ever so confident of my ability, I find it utterly impossible thus suddenly to break up all my professional relations and business without doing great injustice to my clients and sustaining a pecuniary loss myself which I am wholly unable to bear. Were I wealthy or had I not a family, I should not mind the sacrifice. Wealth, beyond what is necessary to give independence, has no charms for me—But you can appreciate it all. I have not time to say more, the mail is closing. Nothing new except what you have by the papers.

Respectfully yours
In great haste,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

FOR INCREASE OF A PENSION.

HOUSE OF REP. Dec. 24, 1838.

SIR: At the request of Humphrey Smith Esq. of Collins, Erie Co. N. York I enclose you the application of *John*

Casten—as I read the name asking an increase of his pension for the reasons stated in his petition.

Respectfully yours, MILLARD FILLMORE.

J. L. EDWARDS, *Esq.*, Pension Office.

MS. collections, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

ANTI-MASONS TO BE CONSIDERED.

HOUSE OF REP. Dec. 26, 1838.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 21st is received. You must by this time have received my *ultimatum* and I regret extremely that it seems to be out of my power to do what you seem to think so essential to the union and harmony of the whig party.

I feel much solicitude about our State officers. On the judicious selection of these, will mainly depend the success of our party, and the whig administration. How would Bates Cook or Abner Hazletine answer for Comptr or Secy. of State. You must give one of these important offices, or Senator to the West and to the old antimasons, or our folks will swear that this administration is *"stuck in the Clay,"* and that the antimasons are to be cast off. The country is now rife with this apprehension. This rock must be avoided or we split upon it.

I am anxious to see Gov. Seward's message. I doubt not it will do equal honor to him and the Whig cause, and the great State over which he presides. Nothing new here. Bell is speaking on the message generally. Wise has shot his Parthian dart and fled. We progress very slowly. No committee yet to investigate defalcations. Rumor says more will soon be disclosed.

Clay and his friends are very anxious and doing every thing they can to make every body believe that Abolitionism is dead, and that he is the only man that can succeed.

Yours truly, in great haste, FILLMORE.

THURLOW WEED, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

DISTURBED RELATIONS WITH WEED.

WASHINGTON, Jany 3, 1839.

DEAR WEED: I returned this evening from N. Y. whither I went on Saturday last to attend to a little business, and I have just read with surprise your three letters of the 28th, 29th & 30th, in relation to Mr. Tracy's having a copy of your letter to me, which he is using to embroil you with Mr. Spencer. You say too,

"Some of my friends think that my letter was sent to Buffalo with no purpose of good will to me."

Now I can only say if you have *friends* who entertain that opinion of *me,* they do not know me as well as *you ought.* It implies a baseness too infamous to attach to any gentleman, or pretended gentleman. But I will not dwell upon it. I trust you do not credit it.

Your letter with some others was sent to my partners at Buffalo, *confidentially,* to enable them & some of my political friends there to determine what I ought to do in relation to the Comptrollership. It did not occur to me that it contained a word or sentence that could prejudice you with any friend on earth. I sent it as a matter of convenience to myself, that they might see the ground as I saw it, in making up their opinion. I wrote you on the 6th Dec. Did I not mention that I had sent it? I kept no copy of my letter.

But it happens that I have your letter and my *original* letter in which I enclosed it, and I send them both to you that you may see how far I merit the *suspicion of your friends.* I send my letter because it is due to you, but it was written in haste and I do not intend it for any other eye than yours. When you have perused it please return it.

I am utterly surprised to learn that Mr. Tracy has a copy of your letter, and astonished to hear that it "has been shown to Mr. Spencer, and of course with a design of embroiling my (your) relations with him."

If this be so, I will not at this time characterize it with the epithets it deserves—But you and I would not differ as

to the *moral qualities* of such an act. I have long been aware of the difficult position which I occupied as the mutual friend of Mr. Seward and Mr. T. when there was no friendship between them. I hoped, however, by perfect frankness and fairness to both, so far as I myself was concerned, to do justice to both and offend neither. But I must confess, I am startled at this apparent *perfidy*—yes, if it be true, it merits no milder appellation. But I will not trust myself to speak on this subject till I *know* that your letter has been used for the base purposes which you suspect.

I shall write Mr. Tracy by this mail, and as I wish no concealment in this matter, so far as I am concerned, you are at liberty to show him this letter.

I will merely add, that I have neither been the supporter nor opposer of Mr. Spencer for the Comptrollership. I did not suggest his name, nor indeed have I felt at liberty to take any part in the matter. When talked to I have freely expressed my opinion, but nothing further. I may have expressed an opinion in a letter but have no recollection of it.

Please let me hear from you, and believe me whatever others may say,

Your sincere friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

T. WEED, *Esq.*
(over)

Jany 4.

P. S. I wrote the foregoing last evening in some haste and with considerable feeling. I have since *slept* and again looked over your letters, and "sober second thoughts" are more likely to be *right*. I am now inclined to think that some designing mischief-making person is endeavoring to poison our long & uninterrupted friendship by infusing suspicion & jealousy—I am not surprised that you are irritated by the annoyance, yet I doubt not it will finally turn out that Tracy neither has a copy of your letter nor has he

shown it to Spencer. Let me hear from you fully, freely and frankly.

I am yours truly,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

AGAIN THE COMPTROLLERSHIP.

WASHINGTON, Jany 11, 1839.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 7th is received. I have talked with Peck, Mitchell, Putnam, Childs and Sibley about Cook for Comptroller and they all profess to think well of it. Sibley however has got an idea that Spencer wants it, and if he does, he seems anxious to have him. But he says if S. will take Secy of State and Cook comptr *"that is the thing."*

I can assure you that it gives me great pleasure to see the thing taking this turn, for from a letter rec'd night before last from *Speaker* Patterson, I was given to understand that I would be appointed *nolens volens*. I feel much relieved to think I am not to be driven to the unpleasant alternative of accepting an office against my better judgment, or rejecting it against the wishes of my friends. Nothing new here. Clay is anxious and *"The old boy in specs"* is croaking that all is lost if we do not take him.

Yours &c, In haste,

M. FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

PRESIDENT-MAKING IN 1839.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 6, 1839

MY DEAR SIR: We have just heard the Whig nominations at Albany for State officers and U. S. Senator, and they seem to give very general satisfaction.

Yours of the 22d ult. found me confined to my room by indisposition, but I am now so far recovered that I hope to

be out to-morrow or next day. I am much gratified to see such a becoming modesty on the part of our Whig friends at the West in regard to the *"Spoils of office."* Can anything be more disgusting than to see them rushing like hungry expectants to the Executive-store-House to receive the pay for their hired patriotism? We looked upon it with loathing and detestation in our opponents and I trust in God we shall not imitate their example. But enough of that.

We have some Presidential matters on hand to which I wish to call your attention and that of Governor Seward's and Friend Weed's and finally, that of all the discreet and holy brotherhood who now rule the affairs of the Empire state.

The first and great question is, who are we to have as a candidate for President? I had hoped that it would not become necessary to determine this question or to *agitate* it during the present session of Congress. But to prevent *agitation* is found impossible, and circumstances are now transpiring which render it quite certain to my mind that the question must be virtually settled here during the remnant of this session, as short as that is. If therefore, it is of any importance to the success of our cause in our State that it be settled one way instead of another, there is no time to be lost. Any delay must put it forever beyond our control.

A very general notion prevailed here at the commencement of this session, that Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster would both withdraw from the canvass, and that Genl. Harrison would receive the nomination without opposition. There might have been, and probably was, no just ground for this opinion, yet, it seems to have spread into the country, and the *Intelligencer,* as you must have perceived, has been frequently called upon to deny such statements from the country papers. It seems our Whig friends in the Ohio legislature under the impression that this was the case, or believing that in any event Harrison would receive the nomination and that his name would prove a tower of strength to our discomfitted and broken ranks in that division, have re-

cently sent a request to their members of Congress, that the time for the national convention may be changed and fixed at an earlier day to save them from a second defeat at their next election, and recommend next Sept. as the proper time.

This request is now under consideration here. One meeting has been held without coming to any conclusion & a committee now has the subject under advisement and will report to a future meeting. I believe our delegation, with possibly one exception, are unanimously against any change of the time, but what will be the final determination it is impossible positively to predict. If the change be made, then to my mind the fact is clear that the question of candidate must be virtually settled here before we separate. It is impossible to prevent it. There will be concert and we cannot avoid it. There will be disseminated from this common focus to every part of the Union an opinion as to the proper candidate, that, will be overwhelming and irresistable when it returns again to the convention. It is, therefore, very important that the opinion thus disseminated from here be correct, for it will be all powerful for good or for evil.

Now what I want of you, and our most discreet friends there, is to tell me which is the best candidate for us in N. York, Clay or Harrison? I lay Webster, my favorite, entirely out of the question. There is no hope for him. But I wish all these folks who are to be the bearers of public opinion to be correctly informed which our friends consider the *strong* and the *safe* man for the Empire State. It must be recollected that we have got to cement the fragments of many parties and it is therefore very important that we get a substance to which all can adhere, or at least that presents as few repellant qualities as possible. Into what crucible can we throw this heterogeneous mass of old national republicans, and revolting Jackson men; Masons and anti-Masons; Abolitionists, and pro-Slavery men; Bank men & anti-Bank men with all the lesser fragments that have been, from time to time, thrown off from the great political wheel in its violent revolutions, so as to melt them down into one mass of pure Whigs of undoubted good mettle? This is he

great desideratum, and I doubt not your experience will soon show that it is much more difficult to bind together a majority to act affirmatively than a minority who are often pressed together by the superincumbent weight of the majority.

I have taken some pains to collect information and make an estimate of our prospects for the next presidential campaign. I have embodied this in tabular form and herewith enclose it, from which you will see we stand no chance, if the election goes into the House. Although we may get Connecticutt, yet, we stand an even chance to lose New Jersey, and with them both we could only *tie* our opponents. Our only chance therefore is in having one candidate who will obtain a majority of the electoral votes. In order to determine this it is necessary to see how many States there are, that either C. or H. could get. These may be set down as Whig States for either candidate. They give 69 votes. Those that are considered certain for Van B. give 76, and there are 149 *doubtful,* but some of these are more certain for Clay and others for Harrison. Of the 149, I consider 62 more certain for Clay and 87 for Harrison. Either in order to be elected has got to have 148. Add the 69, safe for either to the doubtful ones more likely to go for Clay and you have 131, being 17 less than a majority. Do the same by Harrison's votes and you have 156, being enough to elect him and 8 to spare. So you maytake from his either Connecticutt or N. Jersey and he would still be elected. Whereas if you take from Clay Virginia and Georgia 34 votes, and add to his New York and Connecticutt or N. Jersey and he would still lack one of being elected. But you will lay down your own premises and draw your own inferences.

One thing however you can not fail to observe and that is, that without our State, neither can be elected. On that must turn this great question. Therefore in selecting the candidate most likely to carry our State, we are not acting for the mere selfish purpose of saving ourselves, but with a more magnanimous object of saving the Union.

I therefore conjure you to write me *freely*—write me *fully,* and with all *convenient despatch.* For on you now rests this fearful responsibility. I have no personal preferences. I only want the man that *insures our State*—that, saves the Union and the Whig cause.

Pardon this hasty and ill digested letter for really I had not time to write shorter.

I remain your friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. G. W. PATTERSON
Albany.

P. S. Since writing the above I have shown it to Messrs. Russell, Childs and Peck, and they approve & wish a speedy response. I am informed to-day that the time for holding the convention will probably be changed.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. George W. Patterson, Westfield, N. Y.

TO A CONSTITUENT.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Feby 21, 1839.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 15th ult. came to hand on the 23d and I procured Mr. White's signature to the Petition for a New Postoffice at White House and then transmitted the paper with my recommendation to the P. M. Genl and have just rec'd the enclosed refusing the application for the reasons stated.

Your obt. Sevt

MILLARD FILLMORE.

W. R. L. WARD, *Esq.*

Original MS. in Buffalo Historical Society collections.

INTRODUCING ORLANDO ALLEN.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1839.

SIR: The bearer O[rlando] Allen, Esq. of Buffalo is desirous of having some conversation with you about the

Treaty with the Six Nations. Mr. Allen is a gentleman with whom I have been well acquainted for many years, he is familiarly acquainted with everything relating to the Seneca Nation of Indians, and his undoubted integrity and intelligence justly entitle him to your confidence.

I have the honor to be

Your most obt. servt.

In great haste

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. J. R. POINSETT

War Department.

By O. ALLEN, *Esq.*

Poinsett collection, Library of Congress.

MR. FILLMORE'S CANDIDACY FOR VICE-CHANCELLOR OF NEW YORK STATE.

BUFFALO, April 10, 1839.

DEAR WEED: There is a *mystery* about this Vice-Chancellor's appointment that is to me perfectly inexplicable. The responsibility of the Executive forbids that I should embarrass him by urging any claims for myself or Buffalo; indeed, I have no claims to proffer anywhere. It was with unfeigned reluctance that I consented to become a candidate; but having consented, I must confess that I have felt not a little mortified at the *cavalier* manner in which I have been treated.

I am first informed that when the Governor was notified that the Erie County bar would present my name he said he had concluded to nominate Mr. Whittlesey, and no papers could change that determination. That without waiting for the papers Mr. W's name was *immediately* sent in for the Senate. It is now rumored here that the Governor has said that if the Senate do not confirm Mr. W. he shall not nominate me; that he does not admit that this place [Buffalo] has any peculiar claims to the office, but he means *to take*

the best man in the district. This is all very well. I certainly do not aspire to the office. I have not the vanity to suppose that I am *"the best man in the district,"* and certainly shall be the last one to complain if I am passed over for the sake of arriving at so desirable and praiseworthy a result. All should desire that *"the best man in the district"* should be appointed, whether recommended or not. And I am only curious now to know if you can inform me who will be likely to receive the nomination, if Mr. Whittlesey is not confirmed.

I trust the intimacy of our relations, and the frankness due to it, will justify me in soliciting from you (if you know it) the *reason* why the Governor seems to have so determined a hostility to my nomination. It strikes me there is something about this matter that I do not know, that it would be satisfactory to understand. It may be all right, or I may have been misinformed, but please to let me know the length and breadth of this matter.

I am truly

Your friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

DID NOT DESIRE TO BECOME VICE-CHANCELLOR.

BUFFALO, April 23, 1839.

DEAR WEED: Yours came to hand while I was attending the circuit at Rochester. The question of vice-chancellorship is ended. Personally I rejoice at the result. I can say truly I did not desire the office, and I doubt not Mr. Whittlesey will discharge the duties in a manner creditable to himself and satisfactory to the community. But in saying this I should disguise my own feelings and give a false impression as to others if I did not add that there was a strong desire to have the office located here. And it is difficult to suppress the mortifying reflection that we must yet continue to pay tribute to Rochester in all our professional and ju-

dicial business. It is peculiarly humiliating that this county, for the last fifteen years, during all the mutations of political parties, has never been able to furnish an acceptable candidate for this office, while Rochester and Lock Port have each furnished two. It is well calculated to make us think that we are but a province of the powers at Albany, courted and flattered for a moment, when our votes are wanted, and then treated with the utmost indignity and contempt. But I will not say more. I can fully appreciate the situation of the Governor, and the solicitude Mr. Whittlesey and his friends might well feel to receive the appointment. I regret extremely that I suffered my name to be sent forward. But it was unavoidable,—and at all events it has satisfied my friends, of what they seemed reluctant to believe, that I am no favorite with the powers that control this administration. I regret it not. It has no power to grant what I have any desire to receive. I believe no one appointment has been made in this county that I had the honor to recommend. Doubtless this is all for the best. Time alone can determine.

I would say a word on the subject of United States Senator, but I am aware that it can be of no avail. I desire to see you very much and have a conversation with you; But whether I shall till after the next election when all will be finally settled for good or for evil, I think is very doubtful.

Our legislature ought to make some arrangement as to the mode of choosing delegates to the National Convention. Would it not be well for them to name two, and then recommend that each congressional district appoint one; in *the same manner that such district has usually nominated its member of congress?* This, or a State convention, it strikes me, is the only practical mode.

I shall be happy to hear from you, and regardless of whether the political wheel in its revolutions carries me up or down, I am ever most sincerely and truly

Your friend

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

SCOTT SENTIMENT IN WESTERN NEW YORK.

BUFFALO, May 1, 1839.

DEAR WEED: I have but one moment to say there is a strong feeling pervading all the Western part of the State for Scott. The impression is that Harrison has been killed by Clay, and that there is no hopes of being able to elect Clay. If this be so is not our only alternative to take Gen'l Scott. He has gained infinitely upon the affections and confidence of the thinking portion of the community in his late successful efforts to maintain our pacific relations with England.

What is said or done there? Nothing can be done without the concurrence of Mr. Clay's friends. What will they try to do in N. York? Finally, let me hear from you. I have not time to say more.

Your friend
In haste,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

POSSIBLE CANDIDATES DISCUSSED.

BUFFALO, June 5, 1839.

DEAR WEED: Our court is now sitting and I have delayed answering yours for a few days to see our friends from the country as they came in to court. I have seen several, enough to know that in this county Scott would be supported with great enthusiasm for the presidency. Yet there are a few leading men for Clay and some for Harrison, who will yield their first preferences with great reluctance; but there are not enough of these to affect us at all in the general result.

But reflection has convinced me that the West is not the point where action on this subject should commence. Generally speaking, the West are for Harrison, and I am satisfied that their *personal* preferences are not as strong as those

who are for Clay; and should the West move first in this matter, there is great danger that it will create a jealousy among Clay's friends East that will be fatal. It will be at once said that this is that factious spirit of antimasonry that seeks to bring forward Scott, not to advance the Whig cause, but to oppose and defeat Clay. Now it must be apparent to all, that unless both the Clay and Harrison men can, generally, yield their preferences and unite cordially in support of Scott, it is worse than idle to make any effort in his favor. It is not just towards him, its result will be disgraceful to ourselves. We, here, have no assurance that those of our brethren East who prefer Clay, are equally willing with ourselves to yield their personal preferences and go for Gen'l Scott. Give us that assurance, and we will make the welkin ring with his name; but without that, we are disposed to remain where we are—calmly folding our arms and silently witnessing the political vessel in which we are embarked drift on to the *Clay Banks* where she will founder forever.

Will not our friends in the River counties and at the North, and also in Albany & New York move in this matter? If they will I pledge them a response from the west that shall come down upon them like the resistless current of the Niagara. Dutchess would be a good county to start in. Let me know what we are to expect for if they move at once we would make arrangements for a convention on the 4th of July.

There is a report in circulation here that Mr. Clay has written to Mr. Spencer, saying, if his friends think he can not get this State, he is willing to decline in favor of Scott. Is this so?

Yours truly

MILLARD FILLMORE

THURLOW WEED, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

The Mr. Spencer referred to was John C. Spencer of Canandaigua, at this time New York's secretary of state, and later a member of President Tyler's Cabinet.

CLAY—OR SCOTT?

BUFFALO, June 16, 1839.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 12th has this moment come to hand. I ought to have said in mine, what I presume I did not, that P. A. Barker, Esq. after beating about a few days, told me he could do nothing with the Van Buren men, and we have no conservatives. They disclaim the name. The few that were so, are Whigs, and unwilling to be known by any other name.

The truth is that the drill sergeants of Loco Focoism are too wary to be caught with any hook baited with Scott. They march to order, and always wait for marching orders. The Whigs must go forward. There is nothing gained by any *false pretence* that this is a *loco foco* movement for Scott. When ground is fairly broken with a reasonable prospect of success, we shall doubtless carry many of their rank and file.—But their leaders have too deep an interest in perpetuating the corrupt dynasty that now reigns at Washington, to take any steps that must necessarily divide their strength.

But the point is, will our friends who prefer Clay yield him up and cordially support Scott. Without this, all is idle. Is there any truth in the report that Clay will yield to Scott?

Truly yours,
In haste,
FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

A RECOMMENDATION.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27, 1839.

DEAR SIR: I have just received yours of the 18th addressed to me at Albany, and have with pleasure written a letter to the Governor recommending your appointment as Supreme Court commissioner, which will go this mail.

Nothing new here. Members are gathering slowly, and some think we may have a little flare up at the commencement.

Judge Wilkeson thinks from what the President told him that the Indian Treaty will not be ratified.

Truly Yours
In haste
MILLARD FILLMORE.

G. R. BABCOCK, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo.

Hon. George R. Babcock was appointed Supreme Court commissioner by Governor Seward in 1841, and held that office for a number of years. In 1845 he was a member of the New York Assembly, in 1850-52 a State Senator. For many years a prominent member of the Erie County Bar, he formed a partnership in 1842 with James O. Putnam, and at later periods was associated with Thomas C. Welch, E. C. Sprague and M. B. Moore. He was born in 1806, and at the time of his death, Sept. 22, 1876, was a member of a commission for the investigation of the New York State prisons. Mrs. Emily B. Alward is his daughter.

CLAY'S PROSPECTS IN NEW YORK.

WASHINGTON; Dec. 2, 1839.
Monday evg.

DEAR WEED: We have spent the day without progressing below N. J. in the call of members, and had some debating, no violence, and no decision. For details see the papers.

Yours of the 28th ult. came to hand yesterday. *We have done our duty here.* At an informal meeting here, of our entire delegation in the city, yesterday, except Gates, Palen and Barnard each individual on being called upon for his opinion gave it that Mr. Clay could not carry the State of New-York and that it could not be carried for him. Mr. Mitchell said he communicated the fact to him, and he received it in kindness and would make a communication to the Kentucky delegates, expressive of his desire that the strongest man should be nominated and promising a cordial and hearty support.

This [is] magnanimous, and worthy of Henry Clay. If the convention now does its duty and nominates Scott, all will be well. In haste,

Yours,

FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

The Representatives from New York, alluded to in the foregoing letter, were Seth M. Gates, Rufus Palen, Daniel B. Barnard and Charles F. Mitchell.

FROM HIS SEAT IN THE HOUSE.

HOUSE OF REP.
Dec. 23, 1839, 1½ P. M.

DEAR WEED: We have deep snow, and no mails. We have just received information from the President that we shall have his message tomorrow at 12. We have now come to the election of a printer. A proposition has been introduced to appoint a committee to employ a person to do the public printing, who will do it well for the least price. Blair is gliding around the Hall like an evil genius. Vanderpool is trying to get rid of the question and stop debate by springing questions of order. They will doubtless *evade* it in some way or other.

The Harrisburgh nomination takes beyond all anticipation. Even the Virginia & N. C. members are now willing to admit that it is the strongest that could have been made for those States. The Penn. Ohio & Indiana members speak with entire confidence of their ability to carry those States for Harrison & Tyler. In haste, yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

POLITICAL NEWS AND RUMORS.

WASHINGTON, Jany 3, 1840.

DEAR WEED: Both of yours of the 30th came to hand last evening, and I am happy to know that my confidence in,

and frankness to you are duly appreciated. The former has had its growth in a long and well tried friendship, a source of gratification and pride to me, and the latter is its natural fruit. And I am hardly less happy to learn that our suspicions are unfounded that Gov. S[eward] was opposed to Mr. Granger's going into the cabinet. I felt it due to both, and to the good of the party of which both are such ornaments, that this intelligence should be immediately communicated to Mr. G. and I accordingly showed him your letter and he showed me yours to him on the same subject. This is as it should be, and I feel relieved from all anxiety.

It is however due to you that I state that since I wrote you I have been informed that there is more than one of our Whig delegation from N. York opposed to G's going into the cabinet. Besides *the one* alluded to I am now told that friend Hunt *"rather backs water,"* and Judge Doe prefers Mr. Verplank.[1]

Cabinet rumors have undergone a slight modification within a few days. It is now said the South must be equally represented in the cabinet, and that Preston must be Secy. of War. In that case Ewing is to be left out. Bell to take the P. O. and Sergeant or Clayton of Delaware to be Secy. of the Treasury. There is a want of *fitness* in this arrangement to my mind that can only justify it on the ground of quieting Southern jealousies. But *Old Tip* is expected next week and then we may *know* more about it.

I think N. K. Hall will finally consent to take first Judge and if he does, that is best. I am sorry that Clay declines. But our Senator and Assembly-men must arrange it. Get *good men and true* and it will work out right.

Truly yours
In great haste
FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

1. Apparently referring to Gulian C. Verplanck. Mr. Fillmore uniformerly misspells the name.

THE FAMOUS CONTEST OF 1840

The following letter was addressed by Mr. Fillmore to his constituents, in explanation of his remarks in the House, March 6, 7 and 8, 1840, on the New Jersey contested elections:

To the Electors of the Erie District, *in the State of New York:*

Fellow-citizens: When your partiality, rather than my merits, called me to the distinguished station which I now occupy, no one could have anticipated the alarming proceedings of the present House of Representatives—much less could I have foreseen or dreamed that it was to fall to my lot to be the humble actor in those scenes. But, contrary to my wishes, and wholly against my expectations, I was placed upon the Committee of Elections. However I might regret it, I did not feel at liberty to decline this appointment. I had already witnessed enough in the House to be fully sensible of the arduous labor and the heavy responsibility that must rest upon that committee in the contested case from New Jersey. As to the manner in which I have discharged my duty, I have nothing to say; my acts are before you; but, should they meet your approbation, I can truly say, that, next to the approval of my own conscience, nothing could afford me more sincere gratification.

But those scenes have passed. The lawless desperation that commenced by excluding five-sixths of the whole representation of a State from their seats, has been finally consummated by filling those seats with persons not *returned*, and not proved to have been duly elected. These successive

outrages upon the Constitution and the laws, have fallen upon us with such unexpected and startling rapidity, that we have hardly had time to stop and reflect upon the motive that prompted one act, before we were overwhelmed by the commission of another of still greater atrocity. Let us now pause and look at the great fundamental error which has led to these unparalleled scenes of violence in the House, alike dangerous and disgraceful to that body and the country at large. It must be apparent, that all these scenes of anarchy and confusion that so long prevented the organization of the House, and retarded the public business, would have been avoided, could there have been some certain and indisputable evidence that the House was bound to recognize, showing who was in fact elected from New Jersey. The pretence, that there was a doubt on this subject, led to all this confusion and alarm. The House was, unquestionably, the ultimate judge of who was elected; but in its unorganized state, it was wholly incapable of going into any inquiry that required the testimony of witnesses, or any lengthened process of investigation. It was in an alarming state of disorder and confusion. Any inquiry must therefore be necessarily limited to a single fact, and that, too, upon written evidence of the most undoubted authenticity. And this must ever be the case when a new Congress, just elected, attempts to organize.

If, then, there were now no law, or regulation, or usage on the subject, would not every one see the imperious necessity, to prevent the recurrence of these lawless scenes by a disorganized House, of appointing some other and smaller tribunal, already organized, to ascertain, who were elected members of the House of Representatives, and, when ascertained, to make some authentic certificate of that fact, which should be conclusive evidence of an election until the House could organize, and inquire into the fact for itself? Then if it found that the tribunal authorized to judge in the first instance had erred, it would reverse its judgment, and nullify its certificate, and admit the persons who ought to have been admitted in the first place. This would always

enable the House to organize without any difficulty. The only question that could ever arise when a member presented himself and claimed the right of participating in organizing the House, would be, Does he show a genuine certificate, in due form, from the tribunal authorized in the first instance to canvass the votes and ascertain who is elected? If so, he must take his seat. This is all the fact which the House, in its unorganized state, can, with propriety, inquire into. In that state it has no presiding officer—no clerk—no committees—no journal (for there is no clerk to keep it)—the House could not, if the votes were all there, count them. But the certificate would require no proof; and, if in due form, would be evidence of an election until the House could itself inquire into the fact, and ascertain whether it had been wrongfully given. In my opinion, this course of proceeding, so obviously necessary and just, is the one now prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, and which should have been followed in this case. The departure from this prescribed rule, was the first great error in acting upon this case, and has led to all the disorder and outrages which we have subsequently witnessed. As this involves a great constitutional question, which neither the majority nor minority of the committee has thought proper to discuss, and which I deem of vital importance to the perpetuity of our free institutions, I trust I shall be pardoned for submitting, as briefly as possible, the argument by which I come to this conclusion. If I am right, it shows that when our laws are honestly and faithfully administered, they tend to no scenes of anarchy and confusion; if I am wrong, it shows the imperious necessity of some new provision on this deeply interesting subject: for no friend of his country can desire to see the disgusting scenes of this session acted over again. Let us, then, like true philosophers, draw wisdom from this calamity, and turn to that revered charter of our liberties, and calmly review its provisions, before we conclude that its venerated authors contemplated a proceeding so revolting and dangerous as that which has just been witnessed.

The Constitution provides that "each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members." It is clear that this clause of the Constitution created the House a high judicial tribunal to hear and finally determine: first, who was "elected"; secondly, who was "returned"; and, thirdly, whether the person thus elected or returned possessed the requisite "qualifications." I conceive that these three subjects of judicial investigation by the House are entirely distinct, and that any attempt to confound them must inevitably lead to confusion and error. It is obvious that one man may be duly elected by receiving the greatest number of legal votes; and that, by some accident or fraud, another may be duly returned; and that a man may be duly elected and returned, and yet not be qualified, because the Constitution expressly declares that,

"No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen."

But the allegations of the respective parties in this case raised no question as to the qualifications of either party, and, therefore, the inquiry was limited to the return and election. What, then, is the meaning of these words as used in the Constitution? What is an adjudication upon the "return," and what an adjudication upon the "election"? According to all known principles of judicial proceedings, there can be but one decision on either, and the investigation which leads to that should be full, for it would be final. We can only judge of the meaning of the word "return" as used in the Constitution, as we judge of all laws, by looking at the known and invariable use of the word, as applied to the subject matter at the time the law was enacted. The Constitution was adopted and went fully into operation on the 4th of March, 1789. We had then recently separated from Great Britain, where representatives in the House of Commons, the only popular branch of that Government, had been "elected" and "returned" for upwards of 500 years.

There, the words "election" and "return" had definite and fixed meanings. Their elections, from time immemorial, had been held by the sheriffs of the counties, by virtue of writs issued out of the high court of chancery. The sheriff, after holding an election as directed by the writ, canvassed the votes, and ascertained who was elected, and endorsed his RETURN of that fact upon the writ, and returned it to the court whence it issued. The "return," then, as understood in England, from which we derived this invaluable right of electing our own representatives, as well as the language by which we have defined it in our Constitution, signified the report or certificate of the officer whose business it was to ascertain the fact, stating who was elected; and, on this report or return, the member took his seat.

Even in this country, at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the elections, in a majority of the old thirteen States, were held by, or under the direction and supervision of, the sheriffs of the counties, and returns made of the results analogous to those in England; and that is even now the case in some of the old Southern States. This practice was continued in New York until about 1799; and the first law in that State, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, required the sheriffs of the several counties to return the votes in boxes to the seat of Government, where they were canvassed and the result declared by certain officers required to perform that duty; and their certificates of the result constituted the return by which members took their seats. But this practice of sending up the boxes was found to be inconvenient, and has been changed in that State and many others, and the practice has been generally substituted of requiring the officers who receive the votes to canvass them, and transmit a certificate of the number to some other officer or board, where they are all collected and canvassed, and the result made known.

In New Jersey, for instance, the election is held by townships, and the three officers holding the poll in each township canvass the votes received, and send a certificate of the number given for each candidate to the county clerk; the

county clerk combines all these certificates in one and transmits it to the Governor, and the Governor and Privy Council canvass the whole, from the several counties in the State, and ascertain who has the greatest number of votes, and is therefore elected. This result, by the laws of that State, is required to be evidenced by a commission, issued by the Governor under the great seal, to the persons duly elected. It, therefore, appears clear, that, if we judge of the meaning of the word "return" from its well known signification in England, when applied to elections, or from its well known use in this country at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and, by analogy, apply it to the various usages and laws of this country, it may be defined to be that certificate, commission, or other credential which the law of each State has prescribed as evidence that the person to whom it is given has been duly elected. This is precisely, then, that written evidence, given by an authorized tribunal showing who is elected. The person having this evidence, when the House meets, has what the Constitution calls a "RETURN," and, by virtue of that return, he takes his seat.

But it has been said that the various certificates sent, or reports made by inferior officers or boards to superior ones, which do not come to any result, by showing any one elected, are returns within the meaning of the Constitution. This, I apprehend, is a great mistake. They, like the votes for which they are a substitute, are the evidence upon which the return is based. They bear the same relation to the return itself that the evidence given in a court does to the judgment in the case founded upon that evidence. The judgment is the decision of an authorized tribunal upon the law and the facts of the case, and should be in accordance with the law and the facts; but whether it is or not, it is binding upon all the world, unless some other tribunal has the power to review and reverse it, and actually exercises that power.

As I said before, if we look at the reason of the thing, we must come to the same conclusion. The vital principle that lies at the foundation of all elections is, that the person hav-

ing the greatest number of votes given by those qualified to vote, is elected. But there is much machinery required, when an election is by a whole State (as in New Jersey) to ascertain the indispensable fact, who has received the greatest number of such votes. If the House of Representatives should attempt to decide this in the first instance, they would never do anything else. Necessity has therefore led to the adoption of laws authorizing certain officers to receive the votes, and transmit them to a common tribunal for the whole election district; and that tribunal is authorized to declare the result, or, in other words, to look into this evidence thus sent to them, and give judgment; and the written instrument by which the judgment is evidenced, in whatever form it may be, is the "Return" contemplated by the Constitution. This tribunal, from necessity, stands in the place of the House; and, though its means of ascertaining facts and correcting frauds may be, and usually are, much more limited than those of the House, yet its decision, when made and promulgated in the mode prescribed by law, is equally binding upon all the world, until the House shall review and reverse it.

The very office of the return is to furnish that evidence of election that is indispensable to the organization of a House. All the votes, or intermediate certificates that come to no result, would be perfectly nugatory for this purpose. They might furnish evidence from which this indispensable fact might be ascertained by time and labor; but, from necessity, an immemorial usage has grown up in England, and has been adopted by law in every State in the Union, appointing some tribunal to ascertain this fact in the first instance, and to make some instrument in writing, in the shape of a certificate, report, or commission, and this is the return contemplated by the Constitution. The House is to judge of this return. It may be void on its face, because it does not conform to the law by which it is authorized. It may not be duly authenticated—there may be two returns to different persons, in all other respects perfect, so that the House cannot determine that either has a preference over the other.

In all these and the like cases, the returns would undoubtedly be adjudged void. Such a decision would be an adjudication upon the return itself. But as the return is only evidence of an election, and the House is authorized to judge of the election itself, the House may investigate the election, notwithstanding the return is in due form, and come to a different conclusion from what the tribunal did that made the return, and reverse its decision, and thereby nullify the return. But this last would be a judgment upon the election itself; and the effect which it produces upon the return would be rather a consequence of the decision on the original merits of the case, than any direct adjudication upon the return itself. I hold that whenever the House goes back of the returns to ascertain who is elected, it goes into the election itself. There is no intermediate and independent subject upon which it is authorized to adjudicate between the return and the election—the inquiry into the election is one and indivisible; and any attempt to separate it into parts is preposterous and absurd. There can be but one legitimate decision upon it, for that judgment must determine who is elected, and that fact being determined, must put an end to all further inquiry. I admit that this inquiry may be more or less extensive, according to the circumstances in each particular case. The ordinary rules of evidence would doubtless be applied; and one of those is that every officer is presumed to have done his duty until the contrary is proved. Suppose we have passed the return—if good, the member holding it takes his seat—if bad, no one can be admitted, until the House inquires and ascertains who was in fact elected. Let us, then, take this New Jersey case, and presume that the officers at the polls did their duty and only received legal votes, and duly reported the same to the county clerks; and that the county clerks did their duty, and reported all those to the Governor. Acting on this presumption, it is admitted on all hands that the commissioned members were elected. If, then, there be no allegation to the contrary, here the inquiry will end; and the House would at once decide upon the evidence, regardless

of the returns, that the commissioned members were elected, and this decision should be final.

But suppose the non-commissioned claimants should then come in and allege (as they do) that the county clerks had not done their duty, but had, by accident or design, omitted to return the votes of two townships, giving them large majorities, which would have changed the result. Should this fact be proved, and nothing further be alleged, then here the inquiry would stop again, and the House would decide upon that evidence that the first presumption was rebutted, and that the non-commissioned claimants were duly elected, and there would be an end of the investigation, and they would take their seats.

But suppose again, that the commissioned claimants should then come in and allege (as they do) that the inspectors of election in several townships had, by fraud or mistake, returned to the clerk of the county a large number of votes for the non-commissioned claimants given by persons not qualified to vote, or at polls not lawfully held, and which, if deducted from those counted for them and sent to the county clerks, would give the commissioned members a majority of the votes, and this fact should be proved, then the last presumption would be again repelled by proof of the actual fact, and the House would decide that the commissioned members were elected and they would take their seats.

I think it must be apparent to every unprejudiced mind, that as the judgment of the House in each of the above supposed cases would be precisely the same, and there can be and should be but one judgment on the same subject (unless the House departs from the uniform course of judicial tribunals in the decision of causes), that there can be but one trial, and that trial should be so conducted in every case as to do full and perfect justice. It is true, in cases like that from New Jersey, when the allegations of the parties require the House to unravel the whole proceedings, from the certificates made by the county clerks down to the votes actually received at the ballot boxes, the presumptions

will alternately vibrate from one side to the other; yet, at last, they must settle and point with unerring certainty to the polar star of truth.

To persons who are acquainted with judicial proceedings, this case presents no novelty. Scarcely a trial is had when presumptions are not raised on one side, and then met and repelled by the other, until, at last, the parties arrive at the substantial truth, and judgment is given.

But, what is most extraordinary in this case, is, that those who have contended for a different doctrine allow no validity at all to the commissions of the Governor, given in pursuance of law, and therefore the highest evidence that can exist of an election, except a decision of the House itself; nor are they willing, when they pass behind the commissions, and commence an inquiry into the election itself, to stop at the first presumption that the county clerks did their duty, and transmitted to the Governor all the votes they received, but they ask the privilege of repelling this presumption and showing that certificates of votes were received by some of the county clerks which they did not transmit; and, if they cannot do this, then they ask that they may go one step further back, and repel the presumption that the town officers have done their duty, by showing that they omitted to transmit certificates of the votes received in the several towns to the county clerks; but, when the other side proposes also to repel a presumption that the town officers did their duty, by showing that they fraudulently or erroneously received illegal votes, this is objected to and thought to be going too far. It would probably be unjust to suppose that a strong desire to have one party succeed instead of the other, could so prejudice the mind as to make this difference of opinion. I make no such charge. I do not profess to be above prejudice. I may be in an error, but I must confess my total inability to see why, upon any general principles of law or common sense, the House was compelled to stop, in rebutting these presumptions, at the precise and only point where they operated in favor of the non-commissioned claimants and against the commissioned members. This is

the precise point where the House arrested the investigation, and, in the absence of the parties, without hearing the evidence, or the report of the minority of the committee, and without permitting any debate, they voted the five non-commissioned claimants into the vacant seats.

I therefore submit it to you, as my immediate constituents, to whom I am responsible for every official act, to say whether I have done right in opposing this disorganizing and unlawful proceeding from the commencement. Whether I have done right in insisting that the persons duly returned should in the first instance take their seats. Whether I have done right—after these returns and the laws and commissions from the Executive of a sovereign State were trampled under foot,—to insist on a full inquiry into all the frauds charged, to ascertain who was elected. And, finally, whether I did right, when I saw the most venerated and sacred principles of the Constitution about to be desecrated, and the right of speech tyrannically suppressed, to stand up and resist this despotic assumption of power to the last. I can only regret that, in this emergency, my ability has not been equal to my zeal, and that I have been compelled to stand by, an indignant but impotent witness of a deed that strikes to the very vitals of the Constitution. If the laws and officers of a sovereign State are to be trampled under foot by the federal power; if the right to judge of an election is to be converted into a power to elect by the House; then our elections by the people are but a mockery; a small majority can always increase its power at pleasure, and the House of Representatives will cease to reflect the wishes or will of the people.

I am, your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

See I. Fillmore, pp. 148-156.

A POLITICAL FORGERY.

WASHINGTON, April 4, 1840.

DEAR WEED: Some days since, I received a letter purporting to come from Gov. Seward, asking my consent to stand as a candidate for Lieut. Gov. Morgan and I looked it over and had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that it was a forgery and probably by some of our political enemies. I therefore returned it to the governor under Morgan's *frank,* fearing that if I wrote under my own they might be watching and purloin the letter from the P. office. Time enough has elapsed to hear from the governor on the subject, and yet I have heard nothing. I wish you would inquire into the matter a little and let me know what it means.

Stanley has got an order from the House today authorizing his committee to send for persons & papers, and assures me that in a few days he will let you into the secrets of the palace, so far as to see what itsfurniture cost at least.

I send you duplicate copies of my letter for your convenience in publishing and can assure you that I feel much flattered at the more than justice you have already done me, not only in your letter but in your paper. You will see that day before yesterday I had a little brush with the chairman of the committee on elections. A very imperfect notice is taken of it in the *Madisonian* this morning on the 2d page.— Possibly a better account may be found in the letter writer of the *express* [*sic*] in his letter of the 2d instant. I should not have felt myself justified in relating the anecdote had it not been in defence of an attack perfectly wanton and unprovoked. But as it was I could not resist it, and to my utter surprise it took with every one, and he is now not infrequently called the *"doldrum chairman."*

I feel great relief to know that the Registry law is so well disposed of. I regard it as an unfortunate business at best, but had the governor *vetoed* the Bill it would have been destruction to us all.

Every thing looks well here. Our Southern friends are cheering up remarkably. We feel at this moment much solicitude about Conn^{t}. But our friends here are quite confident of success.

Will our State be fully represented in the Young men's convention at Baltimore? I think this important. The steam must be kept up.

Yours truly
MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

A CALL TO ARMS.

HOUSE OF REP. June 1, 1840.

DEAR WEED: Unearthly efforts are now making by the administration party to turn the current again in their favor. They have constantly prophesied that the enthusiasm which showed itself in favor of Harrison was evanescent and ephemeral, and that it would be succeeded by a deadly apathy. Is there not much reason to fear this may be the case. My information is that they are much better organized and more active in our State than the Whigs. Many of our folks seem to think the work already accomplished. This is a great mistake. Our foe is active, vigilant and unprincipled beyond all former example. The *Extra Globe* is a perfect Bohon Upas in the field of truth and virtue. Its noxious leaves are falling in every town and hamlet and rumor says the deputy marshalls for taking the census are to be converted into special agents for the distribution of this poison in every family throughout the United States.

Try to arouse our folks to a sense of their danger. Let every county, town and school district be organized with its vigilance committee and see that they are supplied with proper intelligence to counteract all the base fabrications with which the administration press now teems. It is our only security—it is the only salvation of the country.

I write in much haste amid the confusion of the House, but am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. S. We are making arrangements to give a little more efficiency to the *Madisonian*. It is the only paper that we have here that exposes the corruptions of the administration. The *Intelligencer* is no partizan paper. It is good in its sphere but worth nothing to meet the vile slanders and base fabrications of the *Globe*.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

MR. FILLMORE TO C. A. REPPLIER, JOHN MILLOR, S. C. COOPER.

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1840.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your polite invitation of the 20th instant to join my fellow citizens at Philadelphia in celebrating the approaching national Anniversary—Nothing surely could give me greater pleasure, but I regret to say that my constant and unremitted duties on the Committee of Elections, which, for many weeks past, have wholly excluded me from all participation in the proceedings of the House, will, from necessity, compel me to forego that enjoyment.

Certainly there has been no time since the close of the Revolution when the true friends of constitutional liberty have had more reason than now, to gather around the altar of freedom and light the torch of patriotism from its consecrated fires. I rejoice to feel that we are now witnessing the expiring agonies of a dynasty that came into power upon *professions* and *pledges* the most sacred; which have been violated in a manner the most shameless and disgraceful. Pledged to *one* presidential term, it continued *two*—Pledged to retrench the expenses of government, it has more than trebled them—Pledged to *reform* abuses in the Executive department, it has corruptly multiplied them beyond all for-

mer example—Professing to give us a *better currency,* it has destroyed the best the world ever knew—professing to be the friend of the poor, it first deprived them of employment, and now proposes permanently to reduce their wages to the verge of starvation fixed in European governments—professing *democracy,* it has its agents traversing Europe, hunting out the practices of Monarchical governments to introduce them here—professing abhorence of a National Bank, it proposes to establish one in the Sub Treasury more powerful, more dangerous and more liable to corruption than any with which a deceived and insulted nation was ever cursed; Professing Republicanism, its leading measures tend to consolidation and the concentration of all power in the hands of the Executive.

A party that has thus notoriously violated all pledges and shamelessly thrown off the garb of hypocrisy by which it sought power, will be unscrupulous in the use of any means to retain it. Hence the infamous slander and defamation by which a subsidized press has attempted to blacken the character and tarnish the fair fame of one of the purest, noblest and most disinterested patriots of the present day, merely because he has received an unsolicited nomination for the Presidential chair—Hence the bold and shameless refusal of the administration party in the House of Representatives to permit any enquiry into the alleged abuses of the government. Hence the arbitrary exercise of power to suppress all debate in the House by which their infamy and corruption would be exposed: And hence the unparallelled outrage by which a sovereign state of the Revolution has been disfranchised.

But their mad efforts are all in vain—The days of this abominable administration are numbered; The loathsome stench of its corruption, hypocrisy and wickedness loads the tainted air and calls down upon its unrighteous head the concentrated curse of an insulted and plundered nation—The People with a unanimity unexampled and an energy as resistless as the torrent of Niagara will sweep them from the high places which they have desecrated and polluted, and

by electing WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON bring back the government to its original purity and republican simplicity.

But I have already said more than I intended when I took up my pen—I write in much haste and must be pardoned for any verbal inaccuracies. At all events, my heart will be with you on that great Jubilee and you will please accept my most grateful acknowledgments for the high honor you have done me by your invitation and you will please also to pardon me for presenting through you to my fellow citizens on that occasion the following sentiment.

☞THE UNION—The bond of brotherhood formed by the patriotic Whigs of the Revolution—May their true descendants, the Whigs of 1840, preserve it from the foul touch of *nullification* and the corroding rust of *Federal Locofocoism.*

I have the honor to be

Your most obt. servt &
Fellow citizen
MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs CHARLES A. REPPLIER JOHN MILLOR & S. C. COOPER,
Philadelphia.

Dreer collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

WHIG PROSPECTS IN ERIE COUNTY.

BUFFALO, Augt 25, 1840.

DR WEED: Not anticipating the pleasure of seeing you here immediately I forward enclosed rec'd this morning.

It is court time and I am very busy but I can assure you all is politically well here. I know little of the city, and little can be known until 3 days before the election, but I have been into the country north and south and we were never stronger in the Whig cause than this day. You need have no fear of Erie. We are certain for 2600, may come up to 3000.

Send me a specimen of Bond's and Ogle's speech which you have printed.

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

A SUGGESTION TO THURLOW WEED.

BUFFALO, Sept. 6, 1840.

DEAR WEED: I want the news a little oftener, you will therefore please stop your *Semi Weekly Journal* to me and send the *daily*.

All things look well here. I can not doubt that we shall give as great a majority in this county as we did in 1838, and probably some larger.

Can you not get up a small pamphlet containing in chronological order the material portions of the President's *"Plan* for organizing the *Militia"*—for the people begin to inquire in earnest on this subject. Such a publication in order to give it the stamp of authenticity should not only contain actual extracts with the true dates, but a reference to the *document and page* where they may be found in the original, and the correctness be certified by some well known responsible person. Any thing else will be *denied* and *disbelieved.* In haste,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

INVITATION TO A WHIG CELEBRATION.

BUFFALO, Sept. 15, 1840.

Hon. GEO. W. PATTERSON,
Greigsville,

SIR: The Whigs of Western New York who have stood firm in the darkest period of Political despotism, cheered by the prospect of the final triumph of the principles for which they have so long and so arduously contended, intend

to celebrate the Victory of the Thames achieved by the American arms under Gen'l Harrison, on the 7th day of October, next, in this city. We feel that we are approaching a crisis in the political history of this country second only to that great struggle that gave us independence and freedom. It is proper therefore that we should meet, consult and deliberate, that we may act with concert and efficiency.

Trusting that you are animated by a similar feeling, we take great pleasure in inviting you to be present on that occasion, and give us your aid in the great work of Reform. Many of the most distinguished Orators in the Union have been invited and are expected to address the assemblage.

We have selected Wednesday instead of Monday, the anniversary of that battle, to avoid any desecration of the Sabbath.

With sentiments of high regard,

We are your fellow citizens

MILLARD FILLMORE,
WM. A. MOSELEY,
CH. TOWNSEND,
THOMAS T. SHERWOOD,
WM. KETCHUM,
SETH C. HAWLEY,
JOHN B. MACY,
Corresponding Com.

P. S. Please extend this invitation to all your friends.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Geo. W. Patterson, Westfield, N. Y.

The above circular letter was addressed to Hon. Geo. W. Patterson, Greigsville, Livingston Co., N. Y., and bears Mr. Fillmore's frank as Member of Congress. The letter was lithographed in facsimile of Mr. Fillmore's writing, and was no doubt widely sent out, the individual addresses being added.

THE "DETESTABLE SCRAMBLE FOR OFFICE."

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1840.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 12th came to hand last evening. You need indulge no apprehensions of my entering into any

appointments of a local character out of my own district. They afford vexation enough for me, and so far from any desire to add to it, I would much prefer disposing of the little stock I have on hand.

Really it seems to me that we are in danger of being utterly and forever disgraced by this detestable scramble for office. I understand they have come down upon General Harrison like a pack of famished wolves, and he has been literally driven from his CASTLE and compelled to take refuge in Kentucky and is now seeking safety in flight. They have had the shameless impudence not only to make themselves his unbidden guests at his table, but while thus enjoying his generous hospitalities to solicit him for official favors. Heaven save general Harrison from such friends and this country from such officers. I insist that such men are neither patriots nor whigs and that the whig press ought to come out universally and administer such a rebuke to these selfish, *spoil hunting* parasites as will drive them back to the party to which they belong. They have no rights here and we are in danger not only of being utterly disgraced, but utterly ruined by their association.

You have all the news by the papers except what relates to official intrigues. I think that project of which you spoke to me at Rochester is wholly abandoned.

Truly yours in great haste MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. T. CHILDS.

P. S. The mail boy stands waiting and I have not time to read over.

Etting collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"CONFIDENTIAL" TO THURLOW WEED.

WASHINGTON Sunday evg. Dec. 27, 1840.

(Confidential)

DEAR WEED: I thank you for the conspicuous station and liberal comments upon my resolution as to the sale of Lake property belonging to the U. S.

Yours of the 23d is rec'd. I am thinking that Spencer's appoint[ment] as Comptroller is very well. I do not see how you can do better. But what is Gen'l V. R.[1] looking after. Let me know the gossip.

Rumor says Talmadge has made up his mind to try for Collector of N. York city. Probably it is so. I know nothing of his chances.

Clay has not returned from N. York. Expected to night. Nothing new *here* as to cabinet matters.

But now to the Confidential.—I believe all the Whig delegation from our State are for Granger's going into the cabinet as secy. of the Navy with one excepton—and rumor says he, the exception, professes to speak the sentiments of Gov. Seward, &c. and that he is for Mr. Verplank. Now I want to say in your ear, that Mr. Granger acted a most magnanimous part towards Governor S. last summer, not only by discouraging all attempts to bring him, G., up in opposition but by giving him a most cordial and enthusiastic support. And for this reason we are all a little surprised to see the Governor and those in his confidence secretly opposing G's appointment. And while I am on this subject I may as well say another thing, and that is, that I find a very general opinion prevailing here, that none of our old antimasonic friends, especially of the west, with the exception of Mr. Whittlesey, have the confidence of the State administration. This jealousy, whether well or ill founded, is working an alienation in that hitherto fruitful portion of the political vineyard, that if not attended to, will produce bitter fruits another year.

I know you are right. I know you can appreciate the importance of allaying these suspicions by a just and gen-

1. "Gen'l V. R." was Major General Solomon Van Rensselaer, who for seventeen years had been postmaster at Albany, but was removed in 1839 by President Van Buren, and at this time was mentioned in connection with various offices, that of Collector of the Port of New York among others. (*See,* for documents on S. Van Rensselaer's official service, Mrs. C. V. R. Bonney's "Legacy of Historical Gleanings," vol. 2.) Frederick A. Tallmadge (not "Talmadge"), Representative in Congress from the 5th New York City district, was another reputed candidate for the collectorship.

erous confidence towards some men in the west. I do not ask it myself. I saw that I committed the *unpardonable sin* when I consented to stand as a candidate for the office of V. Chancellor against Mr. W.—But no person has less reason to complain of that result than myself; yet from that hour I have been treated as though *I ought to be an enemy.*

But I have said more than I intended because I deemed it of importance to the party that some of our friends at Albany should know these things. Please make such use of the information as you please, but burn this letter.

Sincerely your friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. S. Who is talked of for Secretary of State?

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

REDRESS FOR THE "CAROLINE" OUTRAGE.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15, 1841.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, as President of the meeting held at Buffalo on the anniversary of the burning of the Caroline, with a copy of the proceedings of that meeting.

Permit me to tender to you, and through you to my fellow-citizens of that meeting, my grateful acknowledgments for the flattering manner in which they were pleased to speak of my humble efforts to obtain redress for that outrage. It is true that the subject in its present shape does not belong to the legislative department of the Government, but after having waited so long for Executive action, without being able to ascertain that anything had been done to obtain redress, I felt it my duty again to call the attention of the President and the country to the subject. I confess I was somewhat surprised to find that no answer had been given by the British Government to the demand of our Minister for redress, made more than two and a half years since, and that no instructions had been given by our Government here

to our Minister at London to insist upon an answer. Even the letter of the Secretary of State, you will perceive, was written after my resolution was adopted calling upon the President for this information.

I am gratified, however, to find that even at this late day the Government has taken a stand to maintain the supremacy of our laws and the integrity of the Union. This is all that is necessary. I would commit no wrong, nor would I submit to any indignity. I am for peace—for an honorable peace, such as equals have a right to claim of each other, submitting to nothing that is unjust, and exacting nothing but what is clearly right. If we cannot have peace on these terms, then, but not till then, I am for war. It is the last appeal of independent freemen to the great Arbiter of nations, and should never be made till all honorable efforts to repel injury or obtain redress have failed.

I have the honor to be,

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Doct. H. R. STAGG, *President, &c.*

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser and Journal*, Jan. 23, 1841.

TO WILLIAM KETCHUM.

WASHINGTON, Jany 17, 1841.

DEAR SIR: Last night I received the enclosed from the Secretary of War in answer to your inquiries.

I also have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 10th giving the *"War movements"* against the Indian Treaty, for which please accept my thanks. The paper containing the proceedings has not yet come to hand. I am anxious to see it.

I hope McLeod will be acquitted, and that will end the *second Patriot* war.

Nothing except what you see by the papers. I just learn from Albany that Clary is nominated for first Judge; and

Love for Surrogate. Good appointments but I had been informed they would not accept. Since they are made, I hope they will.

Truly Yours, In haste,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

WM. KETCHUM, *Esq.*

Original MS. in Buffalo Historical Society collections.

The enclosures referred to relate to an appointment of a sub-agent for the New York State Indians.

Joseph Clary was appointed First Judge of the Common Pleas, Erie County, Jan. 15, 1841; Thomas C. Love was appointed Surrogate of Erie County, on the same day; both appointees served.

A PROSPECTIVE CANDIDATE FOR SENATOR.

WASHINGTON, Feby 6, 1841.

DEAR WEED: Yours of the 31st ult. is received. I have been strongly opposed to an extra session, and am still if it can be avoided, but the course of events here has unfortunately precipitated us upon the discussion of the supposed measures of the incoming administration in a way to give our opponents the benefit of every thing that is odious and to give us no benefit from any thing that is popular. The whole discussion has been fraught with much mischief, and it has done much to render an extra session indispensable or at least politic. It has sown disunion and alarm in our ranks and strengthened the confidence of our enemies. The only corrective is in the *actual* measures of the new administration, and I fear nothing from an Extra Session if we are enabled to carry our measures, but if we are not then we shall be irretrievably damned. But I hope this necessity may still be avoided. We shall know soon.

You say, "Russell writes the Governor that there is to be a vacancy in the Senate whether Wright resigns or not? What does this mean?"

Had you not before heard that a vacancy was likely to occur by the resignation of Mr. Talmadge? Please let me know as I have reasons for some curiosity on that subject.

It is due to you as a friend to state that if a vacancy does occur and there is a reasonable chance of my success, I shall be a candidate. What do you think of it? are you committed to any one? Can you tell me who will probably be candidates?

We have nothing new. Considerable intriguing for the Cabinet appointments. I think Granger will succeed, but we shall soon know as Gen. H[arrison] will be here on Tuesday when I hope the matter will be put at rest.

The mail is closing. Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience. In haste,

FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

POLITICAL NEWS AND GOSSIP.

WASHINGTON, Feby 16, 1841.

DEAR WEED: I have yours of the 10th and you will accept my most grateful thanks for the friendly feeling it evinces. You have said all I desire, indeed, all I would have you do under any circumstances. I know your heart is right. I ask no pledge.

I can not well explain on paper why I asked you if you had not heard of Talmadge's intended resignation before, but I shall be with you in a few days and then you shall know.

It is not yet certain, but more than probable, that Talmadge will resign. I understand that he is anxious that his brother should be appointed to some lucrative office, which would be a common relief, as I understand they are jointly involved. But this can not be, and under these [*MS. cut*] lucrative offices such as collector, post master, or District atty in N. York, and if granted of course he must resign. This is rumor. I have no communication with Talmadge on the subject.

The new cabinet takes well here, and upon the whole, I think the best that could have been made. We do not yet

know that Badger will accept, and if he does not, we shall have further trouble.

I am gratified to hear that Gov. S[eward] will not be a candidate for the Senatorship. Independently of any personal feeling I might be supposed to have on the subject, and even at the hazard of indelicacy in saying it, I must say that I think his course in this matter is elevated, magnanimous and statesmanlike, and must meet the approbation of all.

I understand but few appointments will probably be made, immediately. The cabinet and a few of the important offices connected with the Revenue and Post office are probably all.

I do not think the question of an extra session yet fully settled, and I have strong hopes we may avoid it.

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

TO HON. T. CHILDS.

ALBANY, April 29, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: I arrived here last night. You see by the papers Talmadge has returned home and does not intend to resign. This is doubted but we hear nothing here on the subject.

Should a vacancy occur I am informed from good authority that neither Gov. Seward nor Mr. Verplank will be a candidate. My friends here think there would be no doubt of my election. Mr. Talmadge is expected up and we may then know more about it.

Our folks are preparing to instruct Mr. Wright.

Truly yours

In haste

FILLMORE

Hon. T[IMOTHY] CHILDS
Rochester, N. York

Conarroe collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

WASHINGTON House of Rep.
July 5, 1841.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose you a draft on the Secretary of the Navy from the exploring expedition with a letter from Joseph Clary, Esq., a constituent of mine, asking a draft on N. York for the amount of $2,400.

Please send me a treasury draft for the amount, as directed in his letter, and if it be necessary that I endorse the enclosed please return it by the bearer.

Respectfully Yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon G. E. BADGER
Secy of Navy.

Please Return Mr. Clary's letter.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.
Endorsed: "Accepted & retd to Mr. Fillmore 6 July 1841."

IN BEHALF OF A BUFFALO EDITOR.

(Private)

BUFFALO, Sept. 20, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: Doct. Foot[e], who has been for many years the principal editor of the Whig paper in this city is a candidate for the office of Post Master, and he has long since received the recommendation of the late Post Master General to the president, but no appointment has yet been made.

The present incumbent is a foreigner, admittedly incompetent to discharge the duties of the office, and whose principal business it has been to electioneer for the late administration. The President assured me a few days before I left the city that he should act on this case as soon as congress adjourned. My object therefore is now to request you to call his attention to the subject and urge an appointment, and if necessary to request you to speak a word in favor of

the Doctor. He is honest, talented and industrious and unfortunately poor and at an early day when our other whig paper here came out for Mr. Clay, he took the ground manfully for General Harrison and maintained it throughout the contest. I deem him in all respects worthy and highly deserving and sincerely hope he may receive the appointment.

I have purposely refrained heretofore from taking any part in this case as between the several candidates, but in consequence of his having been recommended, and from the known fact that he alone has not been a Clay man, I consider he is the only one who can probably be appointed, and *"our sufferings is intolerable"* with the present incumbent, I therefore again express the wish that the Doctor may be forthwith appointed. His name is *Thomas M. Foot*[*e*].

Respectfully Yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. D. WEBSTER

Webster collection, Library of Congress.

Thomas M. Foote (not "Foot") was for many years prominently identified with the interests of Buffalo, and in some degree with the affairs of the State and nation. A physician by profession, he early abandoned medicine for journalism. Coming to Buffalo about 1835, being then 24 years old, he was given editorial management of the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, then owned by Messrs. Hezekiah A. Salisbury and B. A. Manchester. Later in that year, Mr. Salisbury withdrew and Dr. Foote and Guy H. Salisbury became joint proprietors with Mr. Manchester, and associate editors. From that time until his death, February 20, 1858, with but one or two brief intervals, Dr. Foote was the editorial head of the *Commercial* and the ablest figure of his day in journalistic life in Buffalo. For many years the warm personal friend of Mr. Fillmore, it was not surprising that in 1849, when Mr. Fillmore became vice-president, Dr. Foote should have been favorably considered for diplomatic appointment. President Taylor made him *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at Bogota, and in 1850, Mr. Fillmore, having succeeded to the Presidency, appointed him to a similar office at the Court of Vienna. These are the only Federal offices he ever held, Mr. Fillmore's earlier efforts to have him appointed postmaster of Buffalo coming to naught. On the accession of President Pierce, Dr. Foote resigned, and returning to Buffalo resumed his editorial and proprietary connection with the *Commercial*. In 1855, with his partner of many years, the Hon. Elam R. Jewett, he disposed of his newspaper interests and with Mr. Jewett made a tour in Europe. On this visit they met Mr. Fillmore and appear to have travelled with him for a time. Returning to Buffalo in 1856, Dr. Foote for a short period resumed editorial

work, his career being ended by a paralytic attack, which resulted in his death on the date named. That he was a scholarly, able writer, adroit in argument as he was keen and vigorous in his style, an examination of the editorial columns of the *Commercial Advertiser* throughout the many years of his activity will attest. The postmaster at Buffalo whose removal Mr. Fillmore urged in the above letter, was Philip Dorsheimer, succeeded, Oct. 12, 1841, by Charles C. Haddock. In 1845 Mr. Dorsheimer became postmaster again.

BUFFALO HARBOR APPROPRIATION.

BUFFALO, Sept. 22, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR: Finding to my surprise that a part of the appropriation for a sea wall for the protection of our harbor had not been expended, though appropriated in 1838, I immediately applied to the War Department, having charge of that matter, for an explanation. Knowing that our citizens take a deep interest in this matter, and by this neglect we have lost the balance of that appropriation, and cannot expect a re-appropriation for the same object, I take the liberty of enclosing you the letter of the acting Secretary of War, with a report from the Topographical Bureau, which will show by whose order this money has been withheld, and finally lost to the object for which Congress appropriated it, by relapsing into the Treasury.

You are at liberty to publish the same for the information of all who feel an interest in this subject, so intimately connected with the commerce and prosperity of the city.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

[To the Editor, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser.*]

It appears from the correspondence referred to in Mr. Fillmore's letter, that an unexpended balance for the sea wall at Buffalo and the works undertaken in 1838 in Buffalo harbor, amounting to $9,332.00, not being drawn from the Treasury before December 31, 1840, under the law, lapsed to the Surplus Fund. The work, therefore, of protecting Buffalo's water front, which the citizens had thought well provided for under the appropriation of 1838, was, in part, defeated and had to be taken up anew with a later Congress.

The correspondence in this case includes letters from Albert M. Lee, Acting Secretary of War; J. J. Abert, Colonel of Corps of Topographical Engineers; Hon. J. N. Poinsett, Secretary of War; and Hon. John Bell, Secretary of War of later date. This correspondence is published in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser and Journal,* September 28, 1841.

REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

BUFFALO, Sept. 23, 1841.

DEAR WEED: We have called a county convention with a view of sending delegates to the State convention. I hope our friends at Albany will make ample preparation for that convention, and leave nothing to the indiscretion of hasty action. Resolutions and a brief but pertinent address should be carefully prepared & well considered before the meeting. Don't fail to have this attended to in time; and by the proper persons.

Ewing's letter and the Whig Address have created a great sensation throughout the country. Webster's position creates some embarrassment, and I fear in the end will be of no use to the country and fatal to him. I have heard of but two Tyler men in this city and none in the country, and I need not add that both of these are applicants for office.

Permit me to suggest that as the people in the State convention are to act in their primary and sovreign capacity, it might be well for their proceedings to express their approbation or disapprobation of the conduct of their representatives in Congress, and of the President, and especially on subjects where they have differed.

Certain well known and undisputed principles of the Whig party should be strongly presented, such for instance as the ineligibility of the President after one term; the establishment of a sound and uniform currency, and the separation of the purse and the sword from the hands of the executive. The president should be respectfully called upon to unite with the whigs in Congress in carrying out these great whig measures, and in purging official stations from incompetent persons and political brawlers, and filling their places with proper men. And if he is not willing to do this he should then be called upon to resign, and give place to one that will.

I am surprised at the misrepresentations of some portion of the Whig press, and particularly the *Courier & Enquirer*

in respect to Mr. Granger. They have done him great injustice, and by so doing they do great injury to the party. It is but saying the truth when I say that Mr. Granger at Washington in the department over which he presided had acquired an enviable reputation. He has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of his friends, and disappointed and silenced his enemies, and without any personal difference between himself and the president, rather than separate from his friends in Congress or the Cabinet, he voluntarily relinquished the high station which he held, and the flattering prospects of distinction before him, and resigned his office. None could show more disinterestedness or true magnanimity of character, and it is painful to see it so ungenerously rewarded.

I am anxious to see whether Tyler will not make an effort to get back to the Whig party, and regain their confidence. If so, we will soon see it in the new appointments, not only by their *numbers,* but by their *character.*

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

COMMITTEE ROOM,
January 15, 1842.

SIR: The Committee of Ways & Means desire to know the reasons which induce you to ask for $5,000 for the contingent expense of your office, instead of $3,000 the sum usually appropriated for that object.

Very respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Ch. of C. of W. & Means

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR,
Secretary of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

TO REDUCE NAVY DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATION.

HOUSE OF REP. Jany 19, 1842.

SIR: In view of the wants of the Treasury and from a strong desire to retrench the expenses of the government, I am instructed by the Committee of Ways and Means to ask you whether, in your opinion, the public service would suffer if the whole amount appropriated to the Naval service for the current year, was not to exceed five or six millions of dollars; and also what items in the estimates will in your judgment best bear a reduction.

Your answer to these two queries at your earliest convenience will much oblige

Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman.

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy. of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

DESPAIRS OF HIS PARTY.

WASHINGTON, Jany 22, 1842.

DEAR WEED: I have waited long for a letter from you. I intended to see you in N. York, but we missed each other. You were engaged and I did not stay as long as I intended.

We are in a bad way here. I think the party must break up from its very foundations. There is no cohesive principle —no common head. Tyler seems yet uncertain. He and the Locos have been coquetting for a long time. They do not want him, yet they wish to keep up the breach between him and the Whigs and I think they will succeed.

The *Madisonian* you see plays the *pimp* for both sides, and does the administration more injury than 10 discreet papers can do good.

The country is suffering so much for a currency that I fear they may too eagerly embrace the fiscal plan recommended. I consider it as recommended as combining all the dangerous and odious features of the Subtreasury and a national Bank. But what we are to do God only knows.

The mail closes. Truly Yours,

FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

HOUSE OF REP.
Janry. 26, 1842.

SIR: I perceive by the papers the laws relating to the Navy have been collected and published with the *annual appropriations* for the same.

Can you furnish me a copy?

Respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Navy Department.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

NAVY DEPARTMENT ESTIMATES.

COMMITTEE ROOM
Feb. 7, 1842.

SIR: In reply to your note of the 5th instant, I beg leave to inform you that your letter of the 17th ultimo, which was an answer to one which I addressed to you in relation to the amount asked for the contingent fund of your office, was laid before the Committee, and after due consideration on it, the amount reported in the Bill was agreed upon.

With regard to No. 70, the other item to which you call my attention, I have to state, that the committee discovered

that there was a difference of $2,000 between the printed estimate, and the manuscript estimate of the Commissioners of the Navy Board enclosed by you to the Committee in your letter of the 29th Decr. Upon an examination of the authorities referred to for their clerks, draftsman and messenger it was found that the manuscript estimate was sustained, as will appear by references in the reports accompanying the Bill, to which I beg leave respectfully to call your attention. This last estimate coming from the Navy Board, & having passed through your hands on its way to the Committee, & seeming to be sustained by law, all doubt was removed as to which of the two estimates the Committee ought to take— They accordingly reported in favor of the amount stated in the Bill.

Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman &c

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secretary of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

NAVY DEPARTMENT ESTIMATES.

COMMITTEE ROOM
February 11, 1842.

SIR: Your letter of the 10th instant was this morning laid before the Committee of Ways and Means. I beg leave to inform you that the Committee decline recommending the increase you desire in the contingent fund of your office. Since the adjournment of the Committee on a further examination of the laws on the subject of clerks in the office of the Commissioners of the Navy Board, I find, that the law of March 3, 1815 (4 L. U. S. p 838) referred to, in the copy of the letter from the Navy Board which you transmitted to the Committee under the date of 29th Decr., as

the authority under which they had two clerks employed at a salary of $1,000 each per annum, was repealed by the act of 20th April 1818 (6 L. U. S. p 320 Sec. 9). This fact I shall communicate to the committee at its next meeting, and I presume the reduction you recommend in the amount for this office will then be made.

Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman

Hon A. P. UPSHUR,
Secy of the Navy

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

NAVY DEPARTMENT ESTIMATES.

COMMITTEE ROOM
February 14, 1842.

SIR: I beg leave to inform you that the Committee of Ways and Means have this morning agreed to recommend a reduction of $2,000 in the amounts reported in the Civil and Diplomatic bill for the compensation of clerks &c in the office of the Commissioners of the Navy Board, in pursuance of your recommendation, and in consequence of the act of 20 April 1818 having repealed the act March 3, 1815 under which the Commissioners estimated for the two clerks in their office

Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman &c.

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secretary of the Navy

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

INFORMATION CALLED FOR.

Copy of a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives January 6th, 1842:

Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means be instructed to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill authorizing appropriations for such necessary objects as have been usually included in the general appropriation bills, and which are without authority of law.

COMMITTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS

February 16, 1842.

SIR: The Committee of Ways and Means desire to obtain every possible information connected with the objects of the above resolution. You are requested to furnish such as may explain the situation of the Officers employed by the Navy Department who are not clearly provided for by law. Please to state the numbers and names of the persons who come within this description—their duties and salaries, and the periods during which they have held their places respectively: also the necessity or value of their services, and any other circumstances which you may deem material or useful.

I have the honor to be &c.

MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman

Hon A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

RECOMMENDING AN APPOINTMENT.

HOUSE OF REP. Feby. 17, 1842.

SIR: Mr. McClary, one of the old clerks in the Treasury Department, with whom I have had much pleasant official intercourse, is anxious that his son *Edwin J. McClary* should receive the appointment of cadet at West point, and he has got an impression that my recommendation would aid him in accomplishing this object, and it is all in vain that

I tell him that I have no influence with this administration, he professes not to believe me. I was therefore compelled to satisfy so confiding a friend, to write you recommending his son for that place.

I have no acquaintance with the young man, but his father speaks highly of his talents and morals and if he stands any chance, his qualifications may be easily ascertained. It would give me great pleasure if this request could be granted.

Respectfully Yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. J. C. SPENCER.

MSS., Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

DEVISING MEANS OF REVENUE.

COMMITTEE ROOMS OF WAYS AND MEANS
February 26, 1842.

SIR: I am instructed by the Committee of Ways and Means to request you to communicate to them any plan which you may have for raising the necessary amount of revenue for defraying the expenses of Government by an increase of duties on importations, or by auction duties on goods imported, or otherwise; also, any plan or view which you may have on the subject of home valuation, cash duties, a warehousing system, or any other matters incidentally connected with these subjects, and especially any information which can be afforded by your Department as [to] the particular article imported which will best bear an increase of duty, and the amount of such increase.

As the committee are now ready to take this subject under consideration, they would be happy to receive your views at as early a day as possible.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman.

Hon. WALTER FORWARD.
[*Secretary of the Treasury.*]

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

Comtee Ways & Means
March 9, 1842.

Sir: On examining a statement, accompanying the annual estimates of appropriations, which shews the balances on hand of former appropriations on the 31st of December 1841, it appears that there was unexpended of the contingent expenses of the Southwest executive building $3000. Will you please to inform me whether the $3,350 asked for this year is in addition to the amount stated above.

Respectfully
Yrs &c.
Millard Fillmore
Chairman

Hon. A. P. Upshur
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

FIRST WAR STEAMER ON THE LAKES.

An outgrowth of the border troubles of 1837-'38 was a demand on the part of the residents of Buffalo, Erie, and other lake ports, for an armed vessel on the lakes. Buffalo's interests in the matter were confided to her representative at Washington. In 1842 Mr. Fillmore personally urged before the Navy Board that an iron vessel for the lakes be built at Buffalo. The Hon. L. Warrington, President of the Board of Navy Commissioners, addressed to Mr. Fillmore a letter, setting forth the usage of the Department upon the subject of contracts, and added that the commissioners had been inclined to favor Erie rather than Buffalo as the place where an armed vessel might best be built. Mr. Fillmore forwarded this letter to the editor of the Buffalo *Commercial,* with the following:

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1842.

DEAR SIR: I have just received the enclosed communication from the President of the Navy Board in answer to various communications, written and verbal, which I have made to the Board in reference to the place of building the war steamer for the Lakes and establishing a naval depot or navy yard; and also in answer to numerous applications for constructing said boat or some parts of it. Knowing that many of our citizens take a deep interest in this question, I will thank you to publish the same.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

To EDITOR Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser and Journal.*

The final outcome of this effort, as is well known, was the construction of the man-of-war Michigan.

LOOKING INTO NAVY ESTIMATES.

COMTEE ROOM, WAYS AND MEANS
April 12, 1842.

SIR: The Committee of Ways and Means have this morning directed me to request you to inform them why your estimates "for the improvement and necessary repairs of Navy Yards" and "for the hospital buildings and their dependencies" for this year, are so much larger than your estimates for the same objects was last year, and whether in your opinion any injury would result to the service if the amount for each of the items included under those heads should be reduced.

I am also directed to call your attention to the *note* at page 377 of Ho. Doc. No 2 of the present session and to ask you to state the amount of the "increase arising from the provision made for a home squadron" and the items of which it consists. Also what "change" was made "in the

force to be employed" and the amt of the expense consequent thereon; and what "increase of force on some of the foreign stations" was made and the cost of such change. The information, it is desired, should be as much in detail as will not render it too voluminous.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman &c.

Commodore LEWIS WARRINGTON
Prest. Navy Board

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

ORDNANCE FOR LAKE SERVICE.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS
April 22, 1842.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 15th inst. through Mr. Wise, recommending an appropriation of $59,097 for ordnance for the Lake Service. Perceiving that the estimate is for one hundred guns, I take it for granted that they are not all intended for the Steam Frigate now building for that service, but that some must be intended either to arm in case of emergency the Steam Boats and merchant vessels on the Lakes, or for other vessels hereafter to be constructed by the government. I will thank you to inform me whether my conjecture is right, and if so, whether you can furnish any information as to the fact whether the merchant vessels and Steam Boats are sufficiently strong to bear this armament.

Respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

AS TO A NAVAL DEPOT AT BUFFALO.

HOUSE OF REP. April 27, 1842.

SIR: I am applied to by a constituent to know whether a Naval Depot is to be established at Buffalo, and if so whether a Naval Storekeeper will be appointed for that place.

I know not what the rules of your department may be as to communicating information of this kind, but if it conflicts with no rule and is not deemed improper I would thank you for the desired information.

Respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHER [*sic*]

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

Endorsed: "A naval depot at Buffalo is not authorized at this time, nor is it in the power of the Dept. to say when it will be necessary. An increase of war vessels on the lake will make something of that sort indispensable, but until that shall be authorized, no depot will be necessary & of course, no store keeper will be required.—Ansd 28 Apl 1842."

ASKS FOR NAVY YARD HOSPITAL DATA.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS
April 29, 1842.

SIR: The Committee of Ways and Means have had under consideration this morning the "estimate of the sums that will be required during the year 1842 for the repairs and improvements of the hospitals at the several navy yards" and have directed me to request you to furnish them with a *detailed statement* in reference to *each hospital.*

Very Respectfully
Yrs &c
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman &c

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

MR. FILLMORE THE PROTECTIONIST.

In the spring of 1842, tariff revision being the paramount question, numerous conventions were held in several counties of New York State; among others, a notable one in Dutchess county. The Whig Corresponding Committee of that county addressed letters to several prominent members of the party, requesting them to attend and address the people. Mr. Fillmore's reply to this invitation was as follows:

WASHINGTON, May 10, 1842.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your flattering invitation of the 7th inst., to attend a mass meeting of the citizens of the county of Dutchess on the 19th inst. in favor of the protective system, and to address the meeting. Though I am not much in the habit of addressing popular assemblies, yet I can assure you that nothing could give me greater pleasure than to meet my fellow citizens in old Dutchess on such an occasion. The movement itself is evidence that the enlightened freemen of your county understand their true interests. From a false theory, wholly inapplicable to our situation, we have been preaching and practicing free trade, while all the Powers of Europe have excluded our great staples from their markets. They have thrown upon us their surplus manufactures to the ruin of our own; and refusing our products in exchange, have drawn from us the metallic basis of our currency, crippled our banks, paralyzed our industry, and bankrupted our most enterprising manufacturers and merchants. Sad experience is fast teaching us the folly of granting favors to foreign nations which they are unwilling to reciprocate.

The mal-administration of the Government for many years has brought our treasury to a state of bankruptcy. Increased duties on imports are indispensable to meet the necessary expenses of the Government and provide for the payment of the debt thus contracted. If these duties are

judiciously laid, with a just discrimination in favor of American industry, you will at once supply the wants of the treasury, and give a stimulus to home industry that will in one year be felt throughout the Union. Protective industry is the wealth of the nation. Foster that and you are prosperous and happy. Agriculture, manufactures and commerce are mutually dependent upon each other. When one languishes they all suffer. Let, therefore, the protecting shield of the National Government defend them from the assaults of the selfish restrictive policy of Europe, and we shall indeed be independent in fact as we are in name.

I cannot express how much I am gratified to see the people awake to the all-absorbing subject. It is one that interests every laborer—every man that produces—every one who feels a patriotic throb for the welfare of his beloved country. And I duly appreciate how highly I am honored by being requested to be present and participate in your proceedings. But I regret to say that my official duties here are so imperative and unremitted, that I am forced to deny myself that pleasure.

Please excuse this hasty note, and believe me truly and sincerely,

Your devoted fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, June 3, 1842; and in other papers.

INFORMATION CALLED FOR.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS
May 13, 1842

SIR: The Committee of Ways and Means desire to be informed which of the items of the estimates for naval hospitals, if any, are for new works; and also as to the necessity for them at this time. Will you please to furnish the information to-day if practicable, as it is the wish of the

Committee to pass upon it without delay, as the Bill is now under consideration by the House.

Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman &c.

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

SURVEY OF THE NANTUCKET SHOALS.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS,
May 17, 1842.

SIR: Your letter of the 14th inst, on the subject of an appropriation to defray the expense incurred for the survey of Nantucket Shoals, was this morning laid before the Committee, who have directed me to request you to inform them whether the survey was directed by your predecessor on application to him or the Navy Board, or was ordered without such application. If made at the solicitation or request of others the Committee desire to see all the letters or papers received by the Department in relation to it. If the order for the survey was the voluntary act of the then Secretary, the Committee will be glad to be informed whether or not any authority exists for the exercise of such power, and a copy of the order.

Very Respectfully
Yr. Obt. Servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman &c.

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

NAVY DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS
June 21, 1842.

SIR: In a communication made to the Chairman of the Committee of Finance of the Senate it is stated, that the amount of the liabilities under the head "for the increase, repair &c. of the Navy" was on the 1st of October last $1,300,000. Will you please state whether it will be necessary to make provision for the whole of that amount during the year 1842, and if not what proportion of it can be postponed.

Very Respectfully yrs &c
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

PAY OF NAVY PENSIONERS.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS & MEANS
June 24, 1842.

SIR: In reply to your letter of yesterday on the subject of an appropriation to pay the Navy Pensioners, I beg leave to inform you that a bill for that purpose was reported to the Ho. of Reps. on the 30th of April and was passed by that body on the 6th of June and sent to the Senate. When it returns to the House I will not fail to attend to it.

Very Respectfully yrs &c.
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

MENTIONED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT IN 1842.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1842.

DEAR WEED: I have just received the two enclosed slips from the Poughkeepsie *Eagle* in which I am very unexpectedly named for the Vice Presidency.

You may publish or return them as you think best,—and be assured that neither my friendship will be affected nor my vanity wounded by a return,—for I regard them only as a passing compliment from an unknown hand.

Capt. Tyler in his recent unnecessary and fool-hardy veto has cut the last link that bound him to the Whigs and has gone over soul and body to the Locos; but I do not yet despair of a tariff.

In haste,

FILLMORE.

[*To* THURLOW WEED]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

DECLINING RENOMINATION FOR CONGRESS.

In July, 1842, Mr. Fillmore addressed the following letter to his constituents:

WASHINGTON, July 18, 1842.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Having long since determined not to be a candidate for reëlection, I have felt that my duty to you required that I should give you seasonable notice of that determination. The chief causes which have brought me to this resolution, being mostly of a personal character, are unimportant, and would be uninteresting to you or the public. It is sufficient to say, that I am not prompted to this course by anything in the present aspect of political affairs. Many of you know that I desired to withdraw before the last congressional election, but owing to the importance of that contest, the desire for unanimity, and the hope that if the administration were changed, I might render some essential

local service to my district and those generous friends who had so nobly sustained our cause, I was induced to stand another canvass. But how sadly have all been disappointed! How has that sun which rose in such joyous brightness to millions been shrouded in gloom and sorrow! The lamented Harrison, around whom clustered a nation's prayers and blessings, is now no more. For reasons inscrutable to us, and known only to an all-wise Providence, he was cut down in a moment of triumph, and in his grave lie buried the long cherished hopes of a suffering nation.

The veneration which every true patriot must feel for the high office that has been filled by a Washington and a Madison, forbids that I should speak harshly of the present incumbent. Yet it is deeply to be deplored that Mr. Tyler seems to labor under a mental hallucination—as unfounded in fact as it is mischievous in its consequences—that the great majority of the Whigs in Congress are seeking to circumvent him. It may be difficult to trace the origin of this mental malady without a previous knowledge of the constitution of the patient. But I doubt not, if its source could be ascertained, it would be found in that curse of all governments, the artful and unprincipled courtier, who insidiously worms his way into the affections and confidence of patronage and power, for no other purpose but to wield it to subserve his own selfish ambition or gratify his personal and vindictive feelings. I do not believe that the acts of the present Chief Magistrate, which have overwhelmed his former friends with shame and sorrow, and filled them with indignation, have resulted from the unaided promptings of his own heart, or received the approbation of his responsible advisers; but in my opinion if you could see the fawning parasites that hang around him to flatter his vanity, and the "honest Iagos" that distil the malicious poison of jealousy into his unsuspecting ear, for their own base purposes, all would be explained. The world would then see that a breach has been made between the President and his former friends, and that the country has been brought to the brink of ruin to

minister to the malignant spleen of some disappointed aspirant to political fame or to gratify the unholy ambition of a few who have nothing to hope but in a state of anarchy and confusion.—These creatures have practised upon their unsuspecting victim until he sees in every friend a foe, and in every necessary act of legislation an attempt "to head him." He has been thus driven on from folly to madness, from secret jealousy to open betrayal, and at last in a fit of insane hostility to his former friends, who elevated him to power, and in the desperate but vain hope of securing a re-election, he has been induced to throw himself into the treacherous arms of his former enemies. What may be the result of this new coalition, time alone can determine. I fear it had its origin in weakness, wickedness and perfidy, and that its consummation will produce the bitter fruits of disappointment to those who now glory in their shame.

Thus you see the origin, progress and consummation of all our difficulties. We have struggled hard under every discouragement to carry out the true Whig principles of 1840, and give relief to the country. Our progress has been opposed and our efforts thwarted at every step by the peculiar friends of the Executive on the floor of Congress. The press under his control has poured out its malicious libels upon our devoted heads until every patriot is sick at heart; and when all these have been braved and overcome, then the *veto* at a single blow strikes to the ground our labors, and the revenues and credit of the nation. But I am unwilling to dwell upon a subject so painful and humiliating. I speak of it now "more in sorrow than in anger"; and cannot but regard it as an awful warning to select no man, even for a contingent station of such vast power and responsibility whose talents and integrity are not equal to it: and I regard it as an additional proof that our only security against treachery and inordinate ambition is found in the one-term principle, that takes away all inducement in the Executive to use his power to secure a re-election. Still I would not despair but hope for the best. Our Constitution contem-

plated the possibility of such an infliction and therefore has wisely provided against its duration by limiting the Presidential term to four years. It is true that much evil may be done in that time, but there is consolation in the thought that we can say to the desolating flood of tyrannical usurpation and folly that sweeps over the land, "thus far shalt thou go and no farther."

My time will not permit me to touch upon the general subjects of legislation or policy, or even to hint at the threatening aspect of political events. A devoted and patriotic majority in Congress has struggled hard against every embarrassment for more than seven months. A tariff bill has just passed the House that would at once restore credit to the Government and bring relief to the community, but the prospect now is that all our anxious toils are to end in naught, unless we submit to the will of a single dictator and consent to record his edicts. Whatever sacrifice a suffering country may demand, patriotism requires us to make—everything may be yielded but principle to an honest difference of opinion, but nothing to a tyrannical exaction, and I trust we shall not be driven to the dangerous extremity of yielding all power to the caprice of one man, or of bringing utter bankruptcy and ruin upon our common country. It is a dreadful alternative, but if presented I also trust that the Constitution will be maintained at every hazard, regardless of all consequences.

But, fellow-citizens, I have said more than I intended, and regret that I have not time to say it more briefly. I can not, however, consent to bring this hasty letter to a close without expressing the deep emotions of gratitude that fill my heart when I look back upon your kindness and devotion. Pardon the personal vanity, though it be a weakness, that induces me to recur for a moment to the cherished recollections of your early friendship and abiding confidence. I can not give vent to the feelings of my heart without it.

It is now nearly fourteen years since you did me the unsolicited honor to nominate me to represent you in the State

Legislature. Seven times have I received renewed evidence of your confidence by as many elections, with constantly increasing majorities; and at the expiration of my present congressional term, I shall have served you three years in the State and eight years in the National councils. I can not call to mind the thousand acts of generous devotion from so many friends who will ever be dear to my heart, without feeling the deepest emotion of gratitude. I came among you a poor and friendless boy. You kindly took me by the hand and gave me your confidence and support. You have conferred upon me distinction and honor, for which I could make no adequate return but by an honest and untiring effort faithfully to discharge the high trusts which you have confided to my keeping. If my humble efforts have met your approbation, I freely admit that next to the approval of my own conscience it is the highest reward which I could conceive for days of unceasing toil and nights of sleepless anxiety.

I profess not to be above or below the common frailties of our nature. I will therefore not disguise the fact that I was highly gratified at my first election to Congress, yet I can truly say that my utmost ambition has been satisfied. I aspire to nothing more, and shall retire from the exciting scenes of political strife to the quiet enjoyments of my own family and fireside with still more satisfaction than I felt when first elevated to this distinguished station.

In conclusion permit me again to return you my warmest thanks for your kindness, which is deeply engraven upon my heart.

I remain sincerely and truly, your friend and fellow-citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, July 22, 1842; and in other papers.

RELEASE FROM NAVAL SERVICE.

House of Rep.
July 25, 1842.

Sir: I have just received the enclosed application from Lyman A. Spaulding Esq. of Lockport, N. York on behalf of Mr. Roberts for the release of his son who enlisted in the Navy. Mr. Spaulding is a most respectable and intelligent gentleman whose statements are entitled to full credit. If the application be not granted please return the letters

Respectfully yours
Millard Fillmore

Hon. A. P. Upshur
Secy of Navy

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

Endorsed: "Com. Nicolson was directed on the 15th inst. to discharge him upon settlement of his accts. [*and in a different hand:*] Mr. Fillmore so informed July 27, 1842."

TO A RESPECTED ADVERSARY.

House of Representatives, Aug. 2, 1842.

Sir: I have perused your note which you handed me a few moments since, and cheerfully and frankly reciprocate all the kind feeling which it contains.

You are right in your supposition that I intended no attack upon your character or feelings in my letter to my constituents, to which you refer. My language in the passage to which you refer was, as you justly remark, *general,* and was intended to apply to no one individual. The letter was published in the *Intelligencer* without my knowledge or request, and by what accident or design it was connected with yours I am unable to say. I apprehend, however, that no just inference can be drawn from such a circumstance.

I did intend to allude to you, among other friends of the Executive on the floor of Congress, as opposing our progress in the business of the session. But certainly I said no more there than I had said more than once on the floor of the

House, and never with the intent of charging any dishonorable motive. Yours was an open opposition—which, however I might regret it, you certainly had a right to make, and which I spoke of as a fact well known to the public. I certainly, however, did not allude to it from any unkind feeling to you, and therefore shall not now attempt to refer to the facts which I supposed justified the remark.

Trusting that this explanation may prove satisfactory, I have the honor to remain, respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. H. A. WISE.

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, Aug. 9, 1842.

IN BEHALF OF A NAVY APPRENTICE.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Oct. 17, 1842.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose you some affidavits for the purpose of procuring the discharge of a boy by the name of *Charles Henry Waters* who was enlisted here as an apprentice in the Navy last Summer and is now reported to be on board the North Carilona [*sic*] in N. York harbor.

I think the facts stated in the affidavits may be relied upon as true, and I suppose it is one of those cases where a discharge will be granted as a matter of course.

The grandmother, Mrs. Foster, who feels a parental fondness and tenderness for the child desires that you will notify me of the discharge, and retain him on board the vessel until they can send by some suitable person to bring him home.

Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHER [*sic*]
Secy. of Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

Affidavits enclosed and Fillmore's letter endorsed: "Discharge him; inform Mr. Fillmore of it, and say also that I have no authority to direct him to be retained after discharging him. Done 22d Octr."

DENYING ABSURD REPORTS.

In November, 1842, Mr. Fillmore received a letter from W. H. Bostwick, at Lancaster, N. Y., in which the writer said: "At a recent meeting of the Liberty party at this place, the Rev. Abel Brown, who is now on a tour through this county, stated that at the last session of Congress, on the 5th day of March, a law was passed declaring that all the free people of color in the Territory of Florida, who should not leave the territory by the 1st day of October, 1842, should be sold into slavery for the term of ninety-nine years; that said law passed the House without opposition, and the moment it was presented and read in the Senate, the Hon. N. P. Tallmadge, of this State, moved the previous question, and prevented all debate, for fear that the discussion might alarm the North." The credulous correspondent naturally thought it "a matter of vast importance," and begged Mr. Fillmore for the truth. Mr. Fillmore replied:

BUFFALO, Nov. 5, 1842.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, giving a statement made by the Rev. Abel Brown, at one of his abolition lectures in this county in regard to a law which he said was passed by Congress at the last session, authorizing the sale of free blacks in Florida as slaves.

Had you not heard the statement of Mr. Brown yourself, and did I not place entire confidence in what you say, I could not be made to believe that any man of ordinary intelligence or honesty could be found either so ignorant or so debased as to utter such a falsehood. I still hope and trust, that for the honor of Mr. Brown, there is some mistake in this matter—and I beg leave in reply to your inquiry to state that no such law passed Congress at the last session and I never heard such a proposition from any source. I have all the

acts of the last session now lying before me. No law whatever was passed or approved on the 5th of March.—There is no such thing as the *previous question* in the Senate, and therefore what is said of Mr. Tallmadge must be an entire mistake. I have never known the previous question called in the Senate since I have been a member of Congress and presume it has not been.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

W. H. BOSTWICK, *Esq.*

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Nov. 7, 1842.

FOR A DISCHARGE FROM NAVAL SERVICE.

BUFFALO, Nov. 9, 1842.

SIR: At the request of the parents of *George L. Stanfield,* an apprentice in the Navy enlisted in this city last summer and now on board the *Ohio* in Boston Harbor, I enclose their affidavits on which they wish to found an application for his discharge. I have no acquaintance with Mr. & Mrs. Stanfield but understand they are poor people and quite ignorant, all which is very apparent on looking at them and they are evidently in great distress at the situation of their son, and if consistent I hope he may be discharged.

Respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHER [*sic*]

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

Affidavits are enclosed and letter is endorsed: "Discharge him"—"done Nov. 22."

SPECIFIC INFORMATION CALLED FOR.

COMTEE ROOM OF WAYS AND MEANS.
Decr. 19, 1842.

SIR: The Committee of Ways & Means having determined to reduce the appropriations asked for the contingent

expenses of the Departments for the fiscal year to specific objects as far as practicable, I beg leave to request you to furnish the Committee with a statement showing under what heads the contingent funds estimated for your office and each of the bureaus of your Department, can be classed, and the sum necessary to be appropriated for each head.

Very Respectfully
Yrs &c. &c.
MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairm &c.

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of the Navy

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

FOR DISCHARGE OF NAVAL APPRENTICES.

HOUSE OF REP. Jany. 27, 1843.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose you a letter from Mrs. Lucy Ann Faxson [*sic*] of Buffalo, soliciting the discharge of her two sons, *Henry, and Leonard Faxon* who were enlisted as apprentices in the Navy and are now on board the Columbus.

Mrs. Faxon is a very intelligent and respectable lady, and her letter speaks more eloquently the sufferings and anxiety of a mother in this matter than anything which I can say, which I hope you will take the time to read, and then if it be possible to grant her request, I can not for a moment doubt you will do it.

Respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. A. P. UPSHUR
Secy of Navy.

Navy Dept. misc. letters.

With enclosure as stated. The signature of the petitioner is Faxon, not Faxson.

TO CITIZENS OF ANN ARBOR, MICH.

In June, 1843, Mr. Fillmore visited members of his family in Michigan. Learning of his presence near Ann Arbor, a committee of citizens of that town addressed to him a formal invitation to be their guest at a public dinner. This was, in a way, a striking recognition of his services to the country at large, in promoting the passage of the tariff bill of 1842. To this invitation, Mr. Fillmore replied as follows:

DEXTER [Mich.], June 21, 1843.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, inviting me to visit your town and to meet your citizens at a public dinner, at such time as might suit my convenience.

Embarrassed as I am by this unexpected manifestation of your kindness and approbation, I have scarcely time or language to express the grateful emotions which I feel.

I cannot for a moment consent to appropriate to myself your flattering remarks in favor of the conduct of the late Congress—my services were quite too humble and insignificant in that honorable body. The merit of those acts belongs to the great body of Whigs who composed the majority of that assembly. It was their self-sacrificing devotion amid the difficulties and embarrassments that few can appreciate, which supplied the means of an exhausted treasury, and saved the country from disgrace and bankruptcy. It was the same ardent devotion to the welfare of the country, which sustained them, though baffled and defeated, until they established by a judicious tariff, permanent revenues for the support of the Government, and a lasting foundation for the prosperous industry and commercial independence of the country. Your approbation is justly due to that able and devoted body, and the time will come when an enlightened and intelligent community will delight to bestow it. But I have only time now to allude to it, and to disclaim for myself, what is so justly due to others, and

what would be arrogance in me, even by implication or silence, to appropriate to myself.

Nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than the time and occasion that have called forth this testimony of your approbation. Had my visit among you, been of a political character—or were I a candidate for any official station or even now in office, I might have suspected that some local or political object was sought to be promoted, but no suspicion of this kind alloys the pleasure which I take in expressing to you the deep sensibility with which I have received this generous testimony of your kind regard. Were it possible to comply with your request, I should anticipate additional pleasure, from the fact that I perceive among the names of those who have thus honored me, not only the worth and respectability of your beautiful and flourishing town, but the names of some who are dear to me as the cherished friends of my early youth. Could anything tempt me for a moment to delay my journey, such a banquet, with such friends, amidst "the feast of reason and flow of soul" would most certainly do it; but I regret to say, that I am hastening to visit a beloved sister[1] who I fear is languishing upon a bed of death, and I trust this will be deemed a sufficient reason for my declining your flattering invitation.

Please accept the assurance of my highest respect and esteem, and believe me most sincerely and truly, your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Messrs. DWIGHT KELLOGG, M. EACKER, *and others, citizens of Ann Arbor.*

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, July 5, 1843.

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1. Mr. Fillmore's sister Maria P., youngest daughter of Nathaniel F., died at Adrian, Mich., July 2, 1843, aged 23 years.

ESTABLISHES A GERMAN WHIG PAPER AT BUFFALO.

BUFFALO, December 29, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR: The German emigration to this country for some years past has scattered along the great thoroughfare from New York to Cincinnati an extensive and increasing population of that most industrious and intelligent class of people. They are fast acquiring the rights of suffrage by naturalization & must soon exercise a controlling influence in our elections in many of our towns, villages, and cities. Yet it is believed that no adequate effort has been made to disseminate among them correct political information. It is said that there is no German Whig paper between the cities of New York and Cincinnati, although there are a number of German papers of opposite politics. Considering the importance of the approaching elections and that a few votes may change the Presidential vote in either of the Great States of New York Pennsylvania and Ohio, we have thought it worthy of an effort to establish and maintain a German Whig paper at this place. This city presents a good point for collecting and distributing political information not only along the thorough fare from New York to Cincinnati but from this place to Chicago and St. Louis.

We believe we have succeeded in securing the services of a most capable and intelligent German Editor who has published a *neutral* paper in this city for the year past, who is heart and soul with us in the Whig cause & proposes hereafter to devote his best energies to the editing of a Whig paper. But with all these advantages the paper cannot be sustained & conducted in a beneficial manner without aid from our friends abroad. Our friends here have cheerfully constituted a sufficient fund to enable them to distribute gratuitously about one hundred papers in this county for the year. The money raised for this purpose is by us as a committee placed in the Bank & the price of the paper

weekly paid to the publisher, prompt payment being indispensable to enable him to go on with the paper.

The object of this communication is to request our friends at your place, to raise the means of taking a hundred copies or more or less as they shall deem beneficial to the cause. You can transmit the money for a quarter or for a longer period, to us and we will apply it weekly to the purchase of the paper as we do our own, so that should there be a failure in the publication, the portion of the money not applied will be returned.

We deem this a matter of the first importance not only to our own success at the coming election, but also to the dissemination of correct principles among that large class of our fellow citizens, thereby producing a lasting benefit to the country. They are generally industrious & intelligent, capable of reading & writing in their own language and eager in the pursuit of political knowledge & it is of great importance both to them and us that the first impressions which they receive of our institutions be from a proper source.

That you may appreciate the tone and character of the [paper] we send you the first number by this day's mail, in which the leading editorial, is at our request published both in German and English.

Whatever is done in this matter ought to be done quickly. This is the season in which the labouring population read. We therefore hope to hear from you speedily, and knowing and appreciating the zeal and energy from our friends at your place we can not doubt that you will promptly come to our aid in this work.

You will observe that the price of the paper is two dollars per annum, the lowest price at which it can be furnished with the circulation we can hope to obtain. We shall direct five hundred extra of each number to be printed in hopes that our friends abroad will send for them giving us the address to which they shall be forwarded.

Hoping for an early and favorable reply, we are very respectfully

Your obdt Servts

MILLARD FILLMORE
NOAH P. SPRAGUE
SETH C. HAWLEY,
Committee.

To THURLOW WEED, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

The paper which Mr. Fillmore and others endeavored to establish as a Whig organ was the *Freimüthige und West New Yorker Anzeiger*. In 1840 W. A. Meyer had started a German campaign paper called the *Volksfreund*, in the Whig interest, but discontinued it after the election. "The type and all the other material of the newspaper was bought by the Whig party and kept as their property until rebought by Mr. Meyer in the summer of 1842." ("Geschichte der Deutschen in Buffalo . . . ," Reinecke & Zesch, 1898, p. 70.) The editor of whom Mr. Fillmore writes appears to have been Alexander L. Krause, who with Mr. Meyer carried on the *Freimüthige* from Jan. 1, 1843, until May, 1845, when it passed into the hands of Ernst Oesten, who published it daily as the Buffalo *Tageblatt*, continuing the *Freimüthige* as a weekly until August, when it ceased. Its successor was the weekly *Telegraph*, also a Whig paper, published by H. B. Miller and edited by Adolph Heilmann.

OPPOSED TO THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

BUFFALO, April 8, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 30th ult. desiring to know whether I am in favor of annexing Texas to the United States has this moment come to hand, but without the paper containing the proceedings of the meeting at Cincinati to which you allude. Without however waiting for that, as I am on the point of leaving home, I beg leave in response to your question to say, *that I am decidedly, unqualifiedly and uncompromisingly opposed to the annexation of Texas to the United States.* I have not time now, nor do I deem it necessary, to give the reasons for this opinion. I however deem it due to myself to say that while I thus frankly express my opinion on this subject, I am decidedly opposed to giving pledges in advance for future political action. And though this is a subject upon which if any I

should not hesitate to commit myself as to my future conduct, yet even in this, for the sake of the principle I would give no such pledge.

I have the honor to be

your obt servt

MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs. S. P. CHASE, *& Others*
TOBIAS FRICK BINE
THOMAS HEATON
GARNAT BAILEY
SAMUEL LEWIS

Chase collection, Library of Congress.

DECLINING TO BE A CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR.

NEW YORK, May 16, 1844.

THURLOW WEED, *Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR: Being here in attendance upon the Supreme Court, my attention has been called to an article in your paper [Albany *Evening Journal*] of the 8th inst., and to some extracts from other journals in yours since that time, in which my name is mentioned as a candidate for nomination to the gubernatorial office in this State. You do me the justice to say that "I have never desired the office of Governor, though I admit the right of the people to the services of a public man in any station they may think proper to assign him." My maxim has always been that individuals have no claim upon the public for official favors, but that the public has a right to the service of any and all of its citizens. This right of the public however, must in some measure be qualified by the fitness and ability of the person whose services may be demanded for the station designed, and the propriety of his accepting the trust can only be properly determined when all his relations, social and political, are taken into the account. Of the former, I am ready to concede that the public must be the proper and only judge. In regard to the latter, the individual himself

has a right to be consulted. These notices of the public press are from such sources, and so flattering, as to leave no doubt either of the sincerity or friendship of the authors. And the office itself, in my estimation, is second in point of dignity, honor and responsibility only to that of President of the United States. When we reflect that it has been held by a Jay, a Tompkins, and a Clinton, who in the discharge of its various and responsible duties acquired a fame that has connected them with the history of our country, and rendered their names immortal, all must agree that its honors are sufficient to satisfy the most lofty ambition. For myself I can truly say that they are more than I ever aspired to.

Believing, as I now do, that whoever shall receive the nomination of the Whig convention for that distinguished station, will be elected, it is not from any apprehension of defeat that I am disposed to decline its honors. But for reasons partly of a public, and partly of a private character, I have invariably expressed an unwillingness to become a candidate for that nomination. This has been long known to most of my intimate friends, and to few better than to yourself. But a sense of delicacy, which all must appreciate, rendered me reluctant to make a more public declaration of my wishes on this subject at this time. It also occurred to me that some individuals, acting under a mistaken sense of my real motives, might be led to reproach me with being influenced in my course in this matter by the results of the Baltimore convention. But when I saw from the public journals that many of my friends were committing themselves on this subject, and reflecting that no man from any apprehension of subjecting himself to unmerited censure, had a right to shrink from the performance of any duty, I felt that the candor and frankness due to my political friends would not suffer me longer to permit them to remain in doubt as to my wishes on this subject.

Permit me then to say that I do not desire to be considered as a candidate for that office. So far as my reasons for this determination are founded upon private considerations,

it would be alike indelicate and obtrusive to present them to the public. But if these could be removed or overcome, there are others of a more public character that should, it appears to me, be equally conclusive.

In the first place, I greatly distrust my own ability to discharge the varied and complicated duties of that high station in a manner either creditable to myself or satisfactory to the public. For the last twelve years my attention has been mostly withdrawn from questions affecting State policy, and directed to national affairs. My chief experience in public matters has been in the national councils, and to my labors there I am mainly indebted for whatever reputation I may enjoy as a public man. It appears to me that the present peculiarly trying emergencies in the great interests of the State, require a man for the executive chair of eminent ability, long tried experience, and a greater share of public confidence than I can hope to possess. I can not but feel that many who have been mentioned are more deserving of that honor, and better able to discharge those high trusts, than myself. I recognize in each "an elder and a better soldier."

But, secondly, it is known to all that I have recently been a candidate for nomination to the Vice-Presidency. I had previously considered my political career as ended for the present, if not closed forever. Never at all sanguine of success, I yielded a reluctant assent to the presentation of my name for that office. Grateful as I am, and ever shall be, for the generous devotion of my friends, I felt no disappointment in the result, and unite, most cordially with my Whig brethren in sustaining the excellent nominations of that convention. But a candidate is now to be selected from the Whig party of this State for the gubernatorial office. Such persons must be taken from among my political associates, and I feel that I owe too much to them to suffer my name to come in competition with theirs for this distinguished honor. To permit it would wear the semblance of ingratitude, or an over-weening ambition for political preferment. I know that I feel neither, and I can perceive no

reason why I should subject myself to the imputation. This alone, if there were no other reasons, would be to my mind an insuperable objection.

But, nevertheless, while I thus decline to be considered a candidate of nomination, it is due to myself to express the grateful emotions of my heart to those friends who have so kindly intimated a preference for me for that office. It implies a confidence on their part which it has been the height of my ambition to acquire; and I shall cherish the recollection of it through life. Believe me, also, when I say that I am not insensible to the deep obligations which I am under to the people of this, my native State; and more especially to those in the western part of it, who have sustained me with such generous devotion and unwavering fidelity, through many years of arduous public service. They could not call upon me for any sacrifice, merely personal to myself, that I should not feel bound to make. I owe them a debt of gratitude which I never expect to be able to discharge. But the Whig party of this State now presents an array of talent and of well tried political and moral integrity not excelled by that of any other State in the Union. From this distinguished host it can not be difficult to select a suitable candidate for the office of Governor—one who is capable, faithful, true to the cause and the country, and who will call out the enthusiastic support of the whole Whig party. To such a candidate I pledge in advance my most hearty and zealous support. Let us add his name to those of Clay and Frelinghuysen, and our success is certain.

But while I thus withdraw from competition for the honors, be assured that I do not shrink from the labors or responsibilities of this great contest. We have a work to perform in this State which calls for the united effort and untiring exertion of every true Whig. Here the great battle is to be fought. For myself I am enlisted for the war. Wherever I can be of most service, that I am willing to go; I seek no distinction but such as may be acquired by a faithful laborer in a good cause. I ask no reward but such as results to all from a good government well admin-

istered; and I desire no higher gratification than to witness the well merited honors with which victory will crown my numerous Whig friends. I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Printed, various papers at the time.

TO THE WHIGS OF OHIO.

The Whigs of Ashtabula Co., O., had a gathering at Jefferson, O., July 4, 1844. Some 8,000 were present. Mr. Fillmore sent the following:

BUFFALO, June 14, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by the receipt of your favor of the 10th inst., inviting me to attend a meeting of the Whigs at Jefferson, Ashtabula County, O., and regret to say that a previous engagement to attend a meeting in Orleans County in this State on the 3d of July will deprive me of that pleasure.

I consider the approaching contest of more importance than any that has taken place since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. This not only settles the great issues of 1840 but also the question whether the power of the Government shall be used to give *adequate and just protection to the industry of our own country*, against the selfish legislation and restrictions of the crowned heads of Europe. But, more than all, this election must settle the question whether Texas is to be admitted to the Union, and the foundation be therefore laid for the extension and perpetuity of slavery in this free Government, and the final and undoubted ascendancy of the slave-holding interest over the interests of free labor in this country in the legislative and Executive departments of the Government, and the fearful and dangerous struggle that must inevitably follow such a result. I consider all these consequences, important as they are, involved in the approaching contest. Let us view it calmly in all its consequences. Let us remember that we stand here upon the narrow isthmus of time that separates the past from the

future generations of this country, that our ancestors have bequeathed to us a free Constitution, heretofore blessing and binding together a united and happy people, with the solemn injunction that we transmit all these national blessings unimpaired to the succeeding generation. Let them, then, look at the awful consequences of a strife between the North and the South for political ascendency in the councils of the Nation that may commence by each seeking additional territory, but which will probably end in civil war, dismemberment of the Republic, and military despotism. I say, let us reflect deeply and dispassionately upon all these consequences, and upon the glorious destinies of this nation if we can but remain cordially united, administer the government for the benefit of the people, and then let us act as becomes patriots in an emergency like the present.

I write in much haste, and the pressure of professional business. I have not time to say more; the importance of the subject would not permit me to say less.

With sentiments of respect, I remain

Your fellow citizen, MILLARD FILLMORE.

To B. F. WADE, L. JONES, C. S. SIMONDS, E. G. LUCE *and* SAM'L HENDRY, *Esquires, Executive Committee of Ashtabula Co., Ohio.*

TO THE WHIGS OF VERMONT.

At the Vermont Whig State Convention, held at Burlington, June 26, 1844, the following letter was read from Millard Fillmore, in response to an invitation to be present:

BUFFALO, June 11, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: I have this moment received your kind and flattering invitation to attend a meeting of the Whigs of Vermont at Burlington on the 26th instant, to respond to the nomination of Clay and Frelinghuysen, recently made at the Baltimore Convention, and regret that my previous engagements are such that it will be out of my power to comply with your request. But I know of no State where

it would give me more pleasure to visit. Though I am myself a native of New York, yet my father was born under the shadow of the Green Mountains, and his childish ears were saluted with the thunders of War, that proclaimed the deadly conflict for liberty, which resulted in the triumph of General Stark at Bennington. The stirring events that followed the Revolution in that State are engraved on my memory, and their traditionary history was the romance of my juvenile years. But if these scenes attracted my boyish fancy and won my childish admiration, the steady and enlightened Democracy of the Whigs of that distinguished State has called forth the deep veneration of my mature years. The glorious Whigs of Vermont have never yet "bowed the knee to Baal." Their Democracy exhibits a verdure as perpetual as that of her own mountains, and a stability as immovable as her everlasting hills. True to themselves and the Union, I know they will give a most hearty response to the nomination of Clay and Frelinghuysen, and that we may look with confidence to the triumphant success of the Whig ticket in that State this fall.

I would avail myself of the opportunity to say something of the importance of the approaching contest to the North, and especially to Vermont, when a candidate is presented by our opponents who avows himself *opposed to any Tariff for Protection,* and *in favor of the immediate Annexation of Texas.* But the Court is in session, and I cannot command my time, and must therefore content myself by expressing my grateful acknowledgments for the flattering manner in which you were pleased to speak of my public services, and to assure you of my sincere respect and esteem.

I have the honor to be, your fellow-citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

C. TOWNSLEY, *Esq. and others, Whig State Central Committee of Vermont.*

Printed, Albany *Evening Journal,* June 28, 1844; N. Y. *Tribune,* July 6, 1844; and other papers.

A letter was received at this same convention from Governor Seward (Auburn, June 12, 1844), in which occurs the following:

"Whatever might have been the state of my engagements . . . it is altogether out of my power to visit Vermont on the 26th instant. There is a

town in this Senate District named West Bloomfield, which has been to this State what Vermont has been to the Union, that is to say, Whig always, and always in favor of the Supremacy of Laws, Public Order, Freedom of Conscience, Equality of Human Rights and the advancement of Civilization. I am under an engagement to visit that little but enlightened and patriotic community on the 26th instant. They are my neighbors, and whenever I have been in public life, they were among the kindest and most liberal of my constituents."

COURT DUTIES VS. WHIG CAMPAIGNING.

BUFFALO, June 24, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 22d inst. is received, wishing to know whether I can attend a whig meeting in Mayville on the 2d week in July next. It would give me great pleasure to do so, but I fear it is impossible. I expect to be compelled to attend the session of the Supreme court at Utica which commences July 1st and will probably continue at least 4 weeks. But if I can escape that, it will only be to attend our recorder's court which commences its session on Monday the 8th of July and will sit one and possibly two weeks.

Nevertheless, I hope before the campaign closes to see the good whigs of Chatauque. I look to that as the banner county this fall, if it can beat *"old Erie."*

In haste

MILLARD FILLMORE

GEO. W. PATTERSON, *Esq.*
Barcelona, Chatauque Co.,
N. York.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Geo. W. Patterson, Westfield, N. Y.

THE WHIG CAUSE IN GENERAL.

COURT ROOM [BUFFALO], Sept. 9, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret that I did not see you this morning but I have little or nothing to add in regard to myself more than I have already said. I need not repeat that if it is possible with honor to myself and good faith to the Whig cause to withdraw my name & to nominate some other man for governor, I sincerely hope that it will be done.

Even if there is any essential division on the subject, I submit to you whether that will not be a sufficient ground on which you may peremptorily withdraw my name.

Nothing but a unanimous or nearly unanimous conviction on the part of my friends in the convention that it is necessary for the success of our cause that I should submit to this sacrifice will justify me in my own opinion in accepting a nomination. If however it comes to that, then there is no sacrifice that I am not prepared to make; No duty that can be assigned me that I am not ready to perform, and no responsibility that I am not ready to take. But I have not time to say more. You know all my feelings—all my wishes on this subject; and I have full confidence in your fidelity and discretion.

I have within a day or two received some letters asking my opinion in regard to other nominees on the state ticket. Of course I am not in a situation to advise and if I were I should deem it improper, especially as between political friends who are candidates for the same office. But without any reference to individuals, I may be permitted to say that I hope that in selecting the canal commissioner that shall represent the interest of the Southern counties of the State, our delegation from this county will take such a course as to show that they are not unfriendly to the interests of our Southern friends in the great works of internal improvement. I am in haste and amid confusion

Truly yours MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. W. A. MOSELEY, M. C.
[*Syracuse, N. Y.*]

Original MS. owned by Miss Anna L. Riley, East Aurora, N. Y.

TO THURLOW WEED, IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1844.

BUFFALO, Sept 16, 1844.

DEAR WEED: So I am *"in for it"* and there is no escape. Though I had no desire for the office and still less for the nomination, yet being nominated I am not anxious to be defeated. I have just rec'd the *Journal* containing the an-

nunciation of the nominations which is done in a manner to meet my approbation and merit my warm thanks.

There is a great deal of enthusiasm here. We have but two things to fear. First the abolition vote. 2d that our friends will mistake these great enthusiastic meetings for the election, and omit to take the requisite steps to canvass every town by school districts and furnish proper information to the doubtful men and make the necessary arrangements to bring every whig voter to the polls in the *forenoon* of the day of election.

Cassius M. Clay can do much to aid us on the first point, and will return from Boston to the Ratification meeting at Rochester and then devote the rest of his time till election in attending meetings as we shall think best. Some system is necessary that the ground may not be travelled over twice. Our committee will send a list of appointments to day to Mr. King for Orleans, Erie, Wyoming & Genesee, and we trust the State Committee will perfect the list as soon as possible, *have it first published in some abolition paper* and then published in our own papers. This will carry the notice in a suitable manner to those whom we are most anxious to have hear him. Dont fail to have it attended to forthwith.

On the 2d point our State committee must act. No time is to be lost. But the mail is closing and I can not say more or read over.

Send me a copy of your weekly till after election.

Truly yours, MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE WHIG NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

BUFFALO, Sept. 20, 1844.

GENTLEMEN: I hasten to reply to your favor of the 17th inst., announcing my nomination to the office of Chief Magistrate of this State by the Whig Convention, held at Syracuse on the 11th inst. You are also pleased to inform

me of the entire unanimity with which that nomination was made and to request my acceptance.

The honors and emoluments of office cannot add value to such flattering evidence of the respect and confidence of so enlightened and patriotic a body of my fellow citizens; and I may be excused for saying that my grateful sense of this distinguished compliment is not lessened by an unaffected distrust of my ability to meet the responsibilities my friends seek to cast upon me.

It is due to myself to say that I have uniformly felt and expressed a sincere wish that I might not be made the candidate; and were I at liberty to act upon merely personal considerations, I should still desire to avoid it. But in a crisis like the present, no man ought to be governed solely by personal interests and feelings. In my deliberate judgment the Whig cause is the cause of the country, and the patriotism of any man may well be questioned who will not make every sacrifice, but that of honor or principle, for the success of that cause.

The Whig party, with which I have been proud to act, has a right to determine in what capacity I can be most useful. The party, with an unanimity characteristic of its exalted purposes, and which more strongly than any other circumstance, guarantees its final triumph, has assigned me my station. With such a party, and in such a cause, I may not withhold any sacrifice, or shrink from any responsibility.

In this spirit, disregarding pressing personal social relations, I freely accept a nomination so generously given. If elected, my utmost efforts shall be devoted to the discharge of the onerous duties which will devolve upon me, and it will be the first wish of my heart, that those efforts may tend, in some degree, to the prosperity of my native State, and to the happiness of my fellow citizens.

Be pleased to accept, individually, the assurance of my high regard. Your fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE

To Messrs. CHRISTOPHER MORGAN *and* JAMES S. THAYER, *committee, &c.*

"ALL IS GONE—BUT HONOR!"

BUFFALO Nov. 6, 1844.

DEAR WEED: We fear all is lost. Contrary to all our anticipations the foreign vote of this county went almost unanimously against us, and as near as I can calculate our majority on the electoral ticket is 1838, when we should have had 2800. The governor ticket is probably about the same. We have however one consolation, we die fighting in a good cause; and have done every thing that honorable men could do to deserve a better fate. Much as I was averse to receiving the nomination, I do not now regret that I accepted it. My friends required this sacrifice for the cause. I gave it and gave it freely, and I neither ask pity nor commiseration for my fate. I would rather fail in such a cause than be crowned with a diadem for life, if that must be obtained, as I verily believe it has been by our opponents, by sacrificing the best interests of the country and by employing the basest arts of the demagogue.

But let us not despair of the Republic—another day or another time may show clear skies and more cheering prospects. I should be perfectly content could I know that Mr. Clay was elected, but I fear all is gone—but honor!

In haste,

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

T. WEED, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

TO HENRY CLAY, AFTER THE DEFEAT OF 1844.

BUFFALO, November 11th, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: I have thought for three or four days that I would write you, but really I am unmanned. I have no courage or resolution. All is gone. The last hope, which hung first upon the city of New York and then upon Virginia, is finally dissipated, and I see nothing but despair depicted on every countenance.

For myself I have no regrets. I was nominated much against my will, and though not insensible to the pride of success, yet I feel a kind of relief at being defeated. But not so for you or for the nation. Every consideration of justice, every feeling of gratitude conspired in the minds of honest men to insure your election; and though always doubtful of my own success, I could never doubt yours, till the painful conviction was forced upon me.

The Abolitionists and foreign Catholics have defeated us in this State. I will not trust myself to speak of the vile hypocrisy of the leading Abolitionists now. Doubtless many acted honestly but ignorantly in what they did. But it is clear that Birney and his associates sold themselves to Locofocoism, and they will doubtless receive their reward.

Our opponents, by pointing to the Native Americans and to Mr. Frelinghuysen, drove the foreign Catholics from us and defeated us in this State.

But it is vain to look at the causes by which this infamous result has been produced. It is enough to say that all is gone, and I must confess that nothing has happened to shake my confidence in our ability to sustain a free government so much as this. If with such issues and such candidates as the national contest presented, we can be beaten, what may we not expect? A cloud of gloom hangs over the future. May God save the country; for it is evident the people will not. . . .

[Millard Fillmore]

Printed, various papers.

ISSUES REVIEWED TO A ROCHESTER FRIEND.

Buffalo, Oct. 8, 1846.

Dear Sir: I have just received yours of this date; and am as much surprised as you can be to hear that "you are an object of special execration with all my friends in Buffalo," for the part you took in the nomination of my friend Mr. Young.

I can only say, I was not before aware that you were at the convention. I do not recollect that I have heard your name mentioned in connexion with the proceedings of the convention, except that it was said that some of Mr. Young's friends had a letter of mine to you, dated on the 4th of August, of which, some who were anxious for my nomination, thought an unfair use was made.

You say that you said, I "did not desire the nomination and would much prefer that it should fall on Mr. Young." These were certainly my sentiments, and I believe under all circumstances, my language. I did all that I felt justified in doing to have this understood and to produce this result, consistent with my obligations as a whig, to the whig party.

I was not aware until after the adjournment of Congress, that there was any general desire for my nomination. Indeed I think there was not; but that the action of that body upon the tariff, induced some of our friends to think that a stronger rally could be made upon my name than upon Mr. Youngs. But it had then been so long tacitly understood that Mr. Young was to be the candidate and I had so often expressed a concurrence in that, and an unwillingness to enter the field again, that I did not feel at liberty to suffer my name to go before the public as a candidate for nomination if I could prevent it. Not knowing however what might occur I did not feel at liberty to say that under no circumstances would I accept a nomination if tendered. While I took pains to have it distinctly understood that I did not desire the nomination, I felt that it would be both arrogant and ungrateful to say in advance that I would not accept it, if a large majority of my friends should, after knowing my wishes, declare by their votes in the convention, that I ought to take the nomination. Had I felt at liberty to consult my own wishes and feelings, I should have declared in advance that under no circumstances would I accept a nomination. But after consultation with some of my friends, they thought as a true Whig, I could not do it, and in this opinion I concurred. The consequence was to place me in a false position, to my own friends & to those of Mr. Young also. While my friends sought my nomination, they

regarded me as opposing their wishes, and if I am rightly informed, many of Mr. Youngs friends regarded me as competing with him for the nomination. The effect therefore has been to grieve my own true friends for whose generous confidence I cannot but feel the most grateful emotions, without satisfying the friends of Mr. Young.

I foresaw and feared this from the beginning. But I was determined to keep my faith as far as circumstances would permit with Mr. Young and his friends and with the great Whig party of the State, to which I am indebted for so many generous marks of confidence, and for the success of which I feel bound at all times to make any sacrifice. If in doing this however, I have forfeited the confidence of my own friends and incurred the hostility of those who preferred Mr. Young, I deeply regret it. But if in its consequences it shall only affect me personally, it is of slight importance, I hope and trust that it may not prejudice the glorious cause in which we are all engaged. I shall give my cordial and zealous support to Mr. Young, and I hope every friend of mine will do the same. I deem the election of vast importance as it will doubtless exert a controlling influence upon the next presidential canvass. I have great confidence that we shall succeed—and I have entire confidence in the ability and integrity of Mr. Young to administer the government of this State.

That you were my friend as well as his, I have never doubted, and I have just as little doubt that you have in all this matter acted in the utmost good faith to me; and I trust that you will not hesitate to believe that I have acted in equal good faith to yourself and to Mr. Young and to the Whig cause.

I write in haste but am
truly your friend
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. T. CHILDS

P. S.—Since writing the above, it has occurred to me that it might aid the cause if the sentiments expressed were made public. But of this you are the best judge. I am on

the point of leaving town and have not time to review or copy. You are at liberty to use the letter or such parts as are not personal to yourself, in any way to advance the cause. M. F.

Etting collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

BOSTON SLAVE RESCUE.

To the SECY OF STATE

MY DEAR SIR: If no answer has been given to the telegraphic despatch stating the rescue of a slave in Boston, I should be happy to see you a moment.

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Feby '47.

Webster collection, Library of Congress.

This undoubtedly refers to the abduction of a slave who had escaped from New Orleans in a ship in 1846 belonging to John H. Pearson. In Boston harbor, "the slave escaped from the vessel, was pursued and captured on shore, was forcibly held against law in the waters of Massachusetts, and sent back to slavery in the barque Niagara." (Winsor's "Memorial History of Boston," p. 390.) A public meeting was held at Faneuil Hall, Sept. 24, 1846, presided over by John Quincy Adams, who gives some account of the case in his diary ("Memoirs," xii, p. 273), but not the name of the fugitive. The famous Shadrach case, and others notable in Boston history, did not occur until 1851 or later—subsequent to the signing of the Fugitive Slave Act.

A SKILLFUL INTRODUCTION.

BUFFALO, Sept. 12, 1847

Col. ABERT

DR SIR: The bearer of this, Clark M. Carr, Esq. of this County visits West Point to see his son, who is a cadet in the Military Academy at that place.

I am informed that his son is charged with some delinquency in the discharge of his duty, for which he is to be tried by a court martial of which you are a member.

I know nothing of the case except from Mr. Carr, and if I did, a sense of propriety would prevent me from saying anything to an officer of the board. But as Mr. Carr is a stranger there, I take the liberty of introducing him to

you, and I also take great pleasure in saying that I have known him well for many years, and he is a gentleman of high respectability and unquestioned integrity.

I have the honor to be

Your obt. servt

MILLARD FILLMORE

Conarroe collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Col. John James Abert, to whom this letter was addressed, had a long military service; at the time of this letter he was at the head of the bureau of topographical engineers, U. S. A.

IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1847.

BUFFALO, Oct. 22d, 1847.

DEAR WEED: Our barn burning friends here are doing all they can indirectly to defeat the Hunker ticket. But I fear there is an over confidence that may defeat us after all.

We have judged it expedient here not to hold any public meetings, but we are doing what we can to organize by school districts and bring out the Whig vote.

We have just received the circular of the State committee. It is a great pity it was not sent out 10 days earlier. It will hardly reach those points where it is most needed till after election.

I have been at Batavia and Rochester within a few days. Every one says *"all is safe"* but I fear this confidence may be fatal to us. I urged them to exertion and tney promised to go systematically to work.

Can you give me any intelligence from the East or South? Pray let me hear from you, and know what is doing.

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

T. WEED, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

ON HIS ELECTION AS COMPTROLLER.

BUFFALO, Nov. 11, 1847.

DEAR WEED: I must trouble some one, and why not you? I infer I am elected comptroller from the number

of applications for clerkships, but I have really been too busy to look at the matter, and I can assure all that their applications will be in time on the 1st of Jany. I must see what the public service requires before I can say any thing about appointments.

My object now is to trouble you to ascertain for me from Mr. Flagg or any one else, how soon I ought to be in Albany. Whether my duties will require any previous preparation by informing myself of the state of things in the office before my predecessor leaves, and if they do when I had best go down.

I am very busy in court & have been every moment since the election, & I look with dread at the responsibilities it has imposed upon me; but I know from experience that patient labor and perseverance overcome every obstacle. [*Letter cut.*]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS AT ALBANY.

BUFFALO, Nov. 21, 1847.

DEAR WEED: Our court is yet in session & probably will be for two weeks to come, and I have found myself too busy either to thank you for past favors, or to avail myself of your proffered aid. But as I can not hope to be in Albany before the 15th or 20th of next month, I should be glad to have some one make some inquiries for a suitable boarding place, and I therefore venture to trouble you. You will better understand what I want when I state my situation.

My children are both at school in Mass. and my wife's health is too poor to think of troubling her with the cares of housekeeping for the present. I therefore prefer to board, and want suitable apartments [*letter cut*] say a bed room, parlor and [*letter cut*] or office for myself. If at a hotel I should generally prefer taking my meals at the ordinary, but should desire such arrangements that I could dine a few friends in my own apartments, or secluded from

the mass if I chose. When my children should visit me, I should want suitable apartments for them. On some accounts I would prefer a temperance house, as I do not drink myself, and others would then understand without notice or apology that I did not intend to offer it to them. Still this is not indispensable, as I have lived long enough to do what I think right though others may differ from me in opinion. On some accounts, I should like the Delavan House, but on others I should prefer a place a little more retired. It is so directly in the great thoroughfare, that I fear the travelling public would make too heavy a draft upon my time, and the constant rush and bustle would disturb the quiet and repose of my wife, unless her health should be better than it now is. But still it may be the best place after all. Please make the requisite inquiries as to rooms, price &c., and write me your opinion.

I am really sorry to give you this trouble but hope I may be able at some time to reciprocate the favor.

I am truly yours

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

DISTURBED RELATIONS WITH DANIEL WEBSTER.

ALBANY, May 2d, 1848.

[*To* DANIEL WEBSTER]

MY DEAR SIR: Your private note of the 24th ult. came to hand, yesterday, and I avail myself of the first leisure moment to reply.

You can not have had more cause to regret the coolness that has some time existed between us than myself. The cause of it I never suspected until informed of it by our mutual and esteemed friend Mr. Fessenden, some four years since, when we accidentally met at the Astor House. I was not aware of the letter to which you allude, addressed by me as chairman of the committee of Ways & Means to you as Secretary of State which you deemed (and no doubt truly) disrespectful. I trust you will believe me when I say

that nothing of the kind could have been intended. My duties were so varied and laborious that I was compelled to intrust to the clerk of the Committee the task of writing the letters to the departments, from general directions. He generally wrote them after adjournment of the committee for the morning and while the house was in session, and brought them to me in my seat for my signature. I had seldom time to do more than sign without reading them; and in this way the accident must have occurred of sending a letter which never would have been sent, had I supposed it contained a word or phrase, that could by any possibility have been tortured into seeming disrespect.

I am gratified to know that you are already appraised of the substance of what I have now related, and to be assured that the explanation is satisfactory and that I still enjoy a portion of your respect and esteem, which I can assure you I value very highly.

I am frank to say there is no man in the nation for whom I have entertained, and still entertain, so high a regard. My respect has bordered upon veneration, and my esteem upon admiration, and though this estrangement to which you allude, has prevented all correspondence and intercourse, yet it has not prevented me from noticing and admiring your uniform high and statesmanlike course in the Senate which has uniformly met my entire approval.

I sympathize with you most deeply in your domestic afflictions, and would that it was in my power to offer consolation, but that must come from a higher source.

I write in much haste without time to copy and beg leave to subscribe myself

Your devoted friend MILLARD FILLMORE

Printed, Van Tyne's "Letters of Daniel Webster," p. 364.

TO THE FRIENDS OF IRELAND.

ALBANY, May 30, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, inviting me to attend a meeting to be

held at the Broadway Tabernacle on the 3rd of June, for the purpose of extending aid and sympathy to Ireland, in the present eventful crisis of her fate; and I regret to say, that my official engagements are such as to deprive me of that pleasure.

No man who has a heart can fail to feel for suffering Ireland. Her brave sons have fought the battles of the civilized world, but her own they have yet to fight; and why England continues to hold her in subjection, against her will and by mere force, is to me unaccountable. Is it from the mere love of dominion, or the fear, that if Ireland resumes her stand among nations of the earth, that her distant colonies may seek to sunder the frail tie that binds them to the mother country? Whatever may be the motive, it seems clear, that the union is profitless to England and ruinous to Ireland; and I trust the time is not far distant, when Irishmen will again breathe the free air of an independent and happy People.

Respectfully yours, &c.,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Messrs. JAMES H. TITUS, PETER MCLAUGHLIN, ROBERT HOGAN, WILLIAM F. WHITE, J. C. DEVEREAUX, JOHN T. DOYLE, JOHN A. MCGLYNN, *and* NELSON J. WATERBURY, *Committee* [*New York City*].

ACCEPTING NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

To the letter of the president of the National Whig convention, informing him of his nomination for Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore made the following reply:

ALBANY, N. Y., June 17, 1848.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., by which I am notified that at the late Whig Convention at Philadelphia, Gen. Zachary Taylor was nominated for President and myself for Vice-President, and requesting my acceptance.

The honor of being thus presented by the distinguished representatives of the Whig party of the Union for the second office in the gift of the people—an honor as unexpected as it was unsolicited—could not fail to awaken in a grateful heart emotions which, while they can not be suppressed, find no appropriate language for utterance.

Fully persuaded that the cause in which we are enlisted is the cause of our country, that our chief object is to secure its peace, preserve its honor, and advance its prosperity; and feeling, moreover, a confident assurance that in General Taylor (whose name is presented for the first office) I shall always find a firm and consistent Whig, a safe guide, and an honest man, I can not hesitate to assume any position which my friends may assign me.

Distrusting, as I well may, my ability to discharge satisfactorily the duties of that high office, but feeling that, in case of my election, I may with safety repose upon the friendly aid of my fellow Whigs, and that efforts guided by honest intentions will always be charitably judged, I accept the nomination so generously tendered, and I do this the more cheerfully, as I am willing, for such a cause and with such a man, to take my chances of success or defeat, as the electors, the final arbiters of our fate, shall, in their wisdom, judge best for the interests of our common country.

Please accept the assurance of my high regard and esteem, and permit me to subscribe myself

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. J. M. MOREHEAD.

This letter was published by the Whig press generally.

IN REPLY TO THE NATIVE AMERICANS OF BOSTON.

ALBANY, June 17, 1848.

JOHN E. GOWAN, *Esq.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst., in which you desire my views

on certain points expressed in your letter. These inquiries are doubtless addressed to me in consequence of my recent nomination for the Vice Presidency; but while I never have [shrunk] and trust I never shall, shrink from any official responsibility that may be cast upon me, I am admonished by the experience of others, that, as the candidate of the party that has put me in nomination, I am not at liberty now to make up and publish my political faith. A Whig Convention, without solicitation on my part, has generously taken me upon trust; and if there be any other sect or party that have sufficient confidence in my patriotism and integrity to give me their support, on the same conditions, I shall be grateful for the favor; but must say to all, that my past conduct is the only pledge I can give for my future course. I must be at liberty, when called upon to act, to do what I think is right.

Trusting that if you do not concur with me in opinion as to the propriety of the course which I have adopted, you will at least believe me when I say that no disrespect is intended to you, or those for whom you speak, in declining to express my opinion on the subjects to which you refer.

I remain truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

This letter had general publication.

ENDORSED BY PHILADELPHIANS.

ALBANY, July 28, 1848.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 25th notifying me that the Young Men's Taylor Convention, for the City and County of Philadelphia, had recently held a meeting at which I was unanimously nominated for the office of Vice President, has this moment come to hand.

You will please to make my profound acknowledgment to the Young Men of Philadelphia, for this distinguished mark of their confidence, and assure them that their nomination is received with grateful emotions and sincere thanks.

The young men have much to do in the approaching contest. Old issues are gradually passing away, and new

issues engross the public attention. Our march is onward. The impulse of the young and ardent is everywhere felt.—Their zeal is salutary, their enthusiasm is most effective; but let us temper all with prudence, and despise not the wisdom which is drawn from the teachings of the past. Thus shall we preserve unimpeached, the glorious institutions which we have inherited from our forefathers, and transmit the blessings of liberty to our posterity.

Accept the assurance of my high regard, and believe me, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

To JOHN H. BRYANT, *Esq., Secretary, &c.*

Printed, Philadelphia *Enquirer*, Aug., 1848.

HIS POSITION ON THE SLAVE QUESTION.

ALBANY, N. Y., July 31, 1848.

Hon. JOHN GAYLE,

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 15th inst., but my official duties have been so pressing that I have been compelled to neglect my private correspondents. I had also determined to write no letters for publication bearing upon the contest in the approaching canvass. But as you desire some information for your own satisfaction in regard to the charges brought against me from the South on the slave question, I have concluded to state briefly my position.

While I was in Congress there was much agitation on the right of petition. My votes will doubtless be found recorded uniformly in favor of it. The rule upon which I acted was, that every citizen presenting a respectful petition to the body that by the Constitution had the power to grant or refuse the prayer of it, was entitled to be heard; and therefore the petition ought to be received and considered. If right and reasonable, the prayer of it should be granted; but if wrong or unreasonable, it should be denied. I think all my votes, whether on the reception of petitions or the consideration of resolutions, will be found consistent with this rule.

I have none of my congressional documents here, they being at my former residence in Buffalo, nor have I access to any papers or memoranda to refresh my recollection; but I think at some time, while in Congress I took occasion to state in substance my views on the subject of slavery in the States. Whether the remarks were reported or not I am unable to say, but the substance was that I regarded slavery as an evil, but one with which the National Government had nothing to do. That by the Constitution of the United States the whole power over that question was vested in the several States where the institution was tolerated. If they regarded it as a blessing, they had a constitutional right to enjoy it; and if they regarded it as an evil, they had the power and knew best how to apply the remedy. I did not conceive that Congress had any power over it, or was in any way responsible for its continuance in the several States where it existed. I have entertained no other sentiments on this subject since I examined it sufficiently to form an opinion, and I doubt not that all my acts, public and private, will be found in accordance with this view.

I have the honor to be,

your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. JOHN GAYLE
[*Mobile, Ala.*]

The above is one of several letters written by Mr. Fillmore in 1848 to meet the charge that he was an abolitionist. *See* Fillmore to Jno. B. Peyton, Aug. 20, 1848, and to Hon. Jas. Brooks, Sept. 13, 1848. These letters had wide publication, not only in 1848, but in 1850, when Mr. Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency and the attempt was made in certain quarters to identify him with the abolition—or as it was termed in sundry publications, "the fanatical anti-slavery party."

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE RAYMOND (MISS.) ROUGH AND READY CLUB.

ALBANY, August 20, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 9th instant, enclosing a printed copy of

the resolutions adopted by the Rough and Ready Club of Raymond on the 5th instant, and desiring to know whether the practical sentiments contained in these resolutions are in accordance with my views.

The 10th and 11th only speak of my position and views. Though I cannot feel justified in appropriating to myself all the flattering compliments contained in those resolutions, yet I am happy to say that they truly define my position and express my views on the subjects to which they allude.

I am happy to inform you that, unless something occurs which cannot be foreseen, I think that this State is certain for the Whig ticket by a large majority.

Please to make my acknowledgments to the members of your Club, and believe me,

Respectfully, yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

JNO. B. PEYTON, *Esq., President.*

The following are the resolutions referred to:

10. *Resolved,* That we recognize in Millard Fillmore, the Whig candidate for the Vice-Presidency, a genuine republican, a pure patriot, a man of exalted intellect and high acquirements—one who has served the Republic long and faithfully in the civil department of Government, whose every act manifests that he is a true devotee of liberty, whose name is prominently identified with the Whig party, and whose talents and patriotism justly entitle him to the love and admiration of his countrymen.

11. *Resolved,* That the charge of abolitionism, recklessly adduced against Millard Fillmore, by unscrupulous partisan opponents, for the purpose of exciting sectional prejudices against him, has no foundation whatever in truth; but on the contrary is triumphantly disproved by the solemn declaration of our candidate for the Vice-Presidency, uttered long since in the Councils of the nation, that Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with the institution of domestic slavery as it exists in the States of this Union; and that therefore we feel assured that Southern institutions will never be assailed or molested by any act of Millard Fillmore.

STATE CONTROL OVER SLAVE PROPERTY.

ALBANY, Sept. 13, 1848.

JAMES BROOKS, *Esq.,*

DEAR SIR: I returned this morning from the West, and have yours of the 10th, in which you say it has been charged in the Richmond *Enquirer,* that I hold it to be

within the power of Congress to interfere with, or break off, the transportation, removal, or disposal of persons held as slaves, from one Slaveholding State to another.

I am not aware that this question has ever been discussed in Congress, or was ever presented for the consideration of the Supreme Court of the United States, before 1841. In that year the celebrated case from Mississippi was decided, and Mr. Justice McLean gave an elaborate opinion on this point, in which the Chief Justice concurred. He came to the conclusion that the constitutional power over this matter was vested in the several States, and not in Congress. So far as my knowledge extends, this opinion carried conviction to every unprejudiced mind, and the question was considered settled. At any rate this was my own opinion then, and I have seen no cause to change it since. Should I do so, I should not hesitate to declare it.

You will therefore perceive, that you did me no injustice in representing to your friend that these were my sentiments.

I write in haste, amid the pressure of official duties, but remain

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Sept. 25, 1848, and other papers.

The foregoing letter was called forth by Mr. Brooks of the New York *Express,* who directed Mr. Fillmore's attention to an attempt which was being made to create a prejudice against him in the South, on the ground that he was "a thorough-going Abolitionist." Among other things, it was alleged that he held it within the power of Congress to prevent the transfer of persons held as slaves from one slaveholding state to another. Justice McLean's opinion, cited by Mr. Fillmore, was rendered Jan. 7, 1841, in the case of Groves and others *vs.* Slaughter. (15 Peters Rep. 449, p. 503.)

IN THE CAMPAIGN OF 1848.

ALBANY, N. Y., Sept. 20, 1848.

DEAR SIR: Yours inclosing a copy of your printed circular for our State Committee, came to hand while I was absent at the West, and on my return, the time was so near when our state convention was to meet and a new committee

would be appointed that I delayed answering till that should be done. But unfortunately by some unaccountable accident the committee was not announced until yesterday, though the convention sat a week since. But today I handed over yours to James Kidd of this city, who is the most active man of the committee here.

Andrew H. Calhoun, Esq., clerk of the Senate, residing here, and publishing a campaign paper called the *"Rough & Ready"* is well acquainted with the politics of our state, and would doubtless be a good correspondent. *But rest assured that this state is sure for the Whig ticket by 40,000 majority.*

Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

[*To* P. GREELEY, JR., *Boston.*]

Original MS. owned by Chas. E. Goodspeed, Boston.

MR. FILLMORE'S ELECTION PREDICTED.

ALBANY, Sept. 30, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 26th and have consulted our central committee, and written to our editor, Dr. Thomas M. Foote, of Buffalo, on the subject. This gubernatorial election takes place [in] 10 days. It is too late to do any thing effectual in aid of that. But we think the result of that will show our weak points, and enable us to strengthen them for the presidential election in November.

I have just received a letter from the Hon. Truman Smith who is at Washington, most usefully and laboriously employed in the Whig Committee room. He says "I am probably in a better situation than any other man in the country to know what is the real state of public sentiment, and what are our prospects of success in the General contest before us, and the result to which I have come is that *"Old Zach"* is bound to go in as president and you as V. P.—I have considered the prospects flattering for some time, but I have not permitted myself to come to any positive conclusion

on the subject until lately. I wanted to see grounds of confidence in one of the great states of Pa., Va. or Ohio. That confidence I now have in the latter. My letters are numerous from that state, and those received of late are so full and satisfactory that I can not permit myself any longer to doubt,—I am confident we shall carry Ohio."

Mr. Smith is a sanguine man, and may over estimate our strength, but we can judge better after the governor election.

Respectfully Yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. GREELEY, JR., *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by Chas. E. Goodspeed, Boston.

Other letters from Mr. Fillmore to Mr. P. Greeley, Jr., are preserved, but relate to matters of no historical interest or value, and are omitted from this collection.

TO THE "FILLMORE RANGERS" OF NEW ORLEANS.

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1848.

R. M. MCALPIN,

DEAR SIR: I am honored by the receipt of your note of the 21st ult., enclosing a copy of the Address of the "Fillmore Rangers" of New Orleans.

It did not reach me until the contest had closed, and the din of strife had given way to the exultations of triumph and the song of victory.

But I can assure you that the noble and truly national sentiments of that address find a hearty response in my breast, and the triumphant Whig vote in your city is the best evidence of the zeal and ability with which the young men of your club discharge their duty to the Whig party and the country. My illustrious associate on the ticket required no vindication, and I therefore feel the more deeply the obligation which I have incurred by the noble stand which these young men took in my favor, and I acknowledge it with heartfelt thanks, and trust they will never have reason to regret the confidence they have reposed in me.

Please make my grateful acknowledgments to the Club over which you preside, and accept for yourself the assurance of my high regard and esteem.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

FROM A PRIVATE LETTER TO A FRIEND.

[Fall of 1848.]

. . . To me there is no manifestation of popular sentiment which calls up such deep feelings of gratitude as that generous vote of my old friends and early constituents of the county of Erie. It is now twenty years since they first elected me to the Assembly, and from that day to this they have stood by me through good and through evil report, and sustained me under all circumstances with a zeal and fidelity almost unknown in this country; and the last crowning act of their continued kindness and confidence awakens the deepest emotions of a grateful heart.

I trust, too, that you will not blame me for expressing the pride which I feel in receiving so flattering a vote in my native State. But these things are in a measure personal to myself, and therefore of little importance. But the cordiality and unanimity with which the Whig ticket has been sustained every where, North and South, East and West, is a just cause of national felicitation. It proves that the great Whig party is truly a national party—that it occupies that safe and conservative ground which secures to every section of the country all that it has a right to claim under the guaranty of the Constitution—that such rights are inviolate—and as to all other questions of mere policy, where Congress has the constitutional right to legislate, the will of the people, as expressed through their representatives in Congress, is to control, and that will is not to be defeated by the arbitrary interposition of the veto power.

This simple rule which holds sacred all constitutional guarantees, and leaves the law-making power where the

Constitution placed it, in Congress, relieves the party at once from all the embarrassing questions that arise out of sectional differences of opinion, and enables it to act harmoniously for the good of the country. When the President ceases to control the law-making power, his individual opinions of what the law ought to be, become comparatively unimportant. Hence we have seen General Taylor, though attacked as a slaveholder and a pro-slavery man at the North, cordially supported and triumphantly elected by men opposed to slavery, in all its forms; and though I have been charged at the South, in the most gross and wanton manner, with being an abolitionist and an incendiary, yet the Whigs of the South have cast these calumnies to the winds, and without asking or expecting any thing more than what the Constitution guarantees to them on this subject, they have yielded to me a most hearty and enthusiastic support. This was particularly so in New Orleans, where the attack was most violent.

Really, these Southern Whigs are noble fellows. Would you not lament to see the Union dissolved, if for no other reason than that it separated us from such true, noble and high-minded associates? But I regard this election as putting an end to all ideas of disunion. It raises up a national party, occupying a middle ground, and leaves the fanatics and disunionists, North and South, without the hope of destroying the fair fabric of our Constitution. May it be perpetual! . . .

The foregoing was printed by the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, with no indication of the person to whom it was addressed.

DEEMS IT IMPROPER TO COMMEND HIS BROTHER FOR APPOINTMENT.

ALBANY, April 10, 1849.

Hon. T[HOMAS] EWING,

SIR: Herein I enclose a petition for the appointment of Cyrus Fillmore, a brother of mine, Receiver of the land office at Fort Wayne.

Being a brother it seems improper that I should express any opinion as to the propriety of the appointment.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mr. J. M. Fox, Philadelphia.

A SIGNED DOCUMENT.

NEW YORK, April 14th 1849

Mr. Brooks one of the Members of Congress elect from this City, visits Washington bearing a communication to the President on the subject of appointments for this City, to which we solicit your immediate attention. he has our confidence and will express to you in detail the conversations we have had.

GEORGE BRIGGS M. C.
WALTER UNDERHILL M. C.
C. S. WOODHULL,
Mayor-elect
J. PHILLIPS PHOENIX M. C.

I concur in the above
MILLARD FILLMORE

Clayton collection, Library of Congress.

A BUFFALO NEWSPAPER'S HOSTILITY.

(*Private*)

BUFFALO April 27, '49

Hon. J. M. CLAYTON,

MY DR SIR: From certain remarks in the leading article of the *Express* which I enclose, I infer that the editor Mr. Clapp does not feel friendly to you.

I am told that he was taken into counsel by Kellogg the recently appointed Marshall and advised the appointment of a deputy here who should pledge himself against me and

my friends This I might expect, but I see no cause for the evident feeling against you.

In haste

MILLARD FILLMORE

Clayton collection, Library of Congress.

A DIPLOMATIC POST FOR DR. FOOTE.

BUFFALO, May 10, 1849.

Hon. JOHN M. CLAYTON,

MY DEAR SIR: Some time since I recommended to the President and yourself Dr. Thomas M. Foote of this city as a suitable person for the office of minister resident at Constantinople. To this I received no official acknowledgment but was informed by a person who afterwards saw the president that he said he had determined to offer Dr. Foote the appointment of Chargé to Bogota; and this last report has been circulated through the papers. But on inquiry to day I learn from the Doctor that he has been tendered no such appointment, nor has he received any official communication on the subject. This led me to hope that he might still be offered the place at Constantinople. But at any rate if it is settled that he is to be offered either I should be happy to be informed of it.

Respectfully Yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Clayton collection, Library of Congress.

J. W. VESEY TO MILLARD FILLMORE.

ABERDEEN, Miss June 3, '49

DEAR SIR: I have taken the liberty to trespass upon your time to request some information concerning William Henry Vesey, who held an office under government during the administration of Mr. Van Buren, at St. Ubes in Portugal. From a gentleman who was travelling in Portugal in '42 I heard that Mr. Vesey was then in St. Ubes. During the preceding administrations, I have in the absence of other means, frequently applied to public men for information of my relative, but my letters were all unanswered. From

your generous and sympathetic character I have ventured to hope this mission will not meet the fate of its predecessors.

With considerations of high respect I have the honor to be

Your most obedt Servt

J. W. Vesey.

FILLMORE TO CLAYTON, ON THE ABOVE.

Hon. J. M. Clayton,

Dr Sir: This letter addressed to me at Washington has just reached me here, and as I doubt not you possess more of the good nature ascribed to me than my friends would give me credit for, I enclose it to you for the desired information.

Truly yours,

Millard Fillmore

Buffalo, June 27, 1849

Clayton collection, Library of Congress.

TO CITIZENS OF DETROIT.

An invitation having been addressed to Mr. Fillmore by citizens of Detroit upon the occasion of his recent visit to that city, to partake of a public dinner on his return to Detroit from a western tour, Mr. Fillmore returned the following reply:

Detroit, Sept. 29, 1849.

Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your flattering note of this date, expressing a desire to meet me at the festive board, and requesting that I would indicate the time.

My visit to your beautiful city is quite accidental, and, before the receipt of your letter, I had made my arrangements to leave in the morning cars for the interior of your State. I have enjoyed the pleasure this evening of taking many of your citizens by the hand, and it would give me inexpressible satisfaction to meet them at the festive board;

but I regret to say that my arrangements are such as to compel me to forego that gratification.

Hoping that the friendly interests of the sister cities of Detroit and Buffalo, will perpetuate a cordial union of their inhabitants, and make them rivals only in their efforts to promote the prosperity and advance the commerce of the growing West, I beg leave to return my thanks for this distinguished mark of your respect, and subscribe myself

Your ob't serv't,

MILLARD FILLMORE

To Messrs. A. D. FRASER, JACOB H. HOWARD, *and others, of Detroit.*

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, Oct. 3, 1849.

A COURTEOUS REJOINDER TO THURLOW WEED.

(*Private*)

BUFFALO, Oct. 29, 1849.

T. WEED, *Esq.*,

DR. SIR: Understanding that you had said that I was getting up a list of correspondents for *sinister purposes,* I send you a copy by this mail, trusting, that if on examination you find you have been misinformed, you will take pleasure in correcting the error.

I regret that many to whom I wrote delayed their answers so long that the printing was too late to effect much at this election.

Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

AN INCIDENT IN A FAMOUS BREACH.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1849.

THURLOW WEED, *Esq.*,

DR SIR: After what passed between you and myself in New York on my way here, I felt it due to myself as well

as to you to write to Mr. Boyd and inquire if I ever informed him that you opposed my nomination as Vice President at Philadelphia in 1848. It seems he was absent from home so that I did not receive an immediate answer, and on receiving it I did not feel at liberty to state its contents to you without his assent. I therefore wrote back again and this morning received his permission and now enclose you an extract from his letter of the 12th inst. in which you will perceive that he says that he never was informed by me that you opposed my nomination, or so informed you.

I am respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y. With this letter is preserved the enclosure referred to above, as follows:

WHITE HALL, Dec. 12th, 1849.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 26th of Nov. last reached here in my absence at Court at Sandy Hill.

You never to my recollection informed me that Mr. Weed opposed your nomination at the Convention, 1848, nor have I ever so told him. I had however related to others that he did oppose your nomination, which was reported to Weed, he in a conversation with me last fall inquired of me if I had [so] related. I replied to him that I had and so understood it and gave him my reasons.

The delegate from Albany with Mr. Weed, Benedict and others occupied a room. While there the subject of Vice President was talked over. Mr. Benedict remarked that he would give it to any other person than to you, through [*sic*] it out of the State rather. I supposed that Mr. Weed was present and heard the remarks and acquiesced in them for it was generally understood that Albany was opposed to your nomination. He admitted that Benedict and others from Albany did oppose you, but that he did not which of course I was hard to believe. . . .

Yours respectfully

I. H. BOYD.

TO GEORGE R. BABCOCK AT BUFFALO.

WASHINGTON, Jany 15, 1850.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 10th inst. has been rec'd. Having addressed a letter to the Secretary of War some days since, recommending Joseph R. Smith Jr. for a commission as Lieutenant should the Army be increased, I have to-day given your letter the same direction & requested that it be

put upon file with mine for future reference; which disposition of it I hope will meet your approbation.

I am truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. GEO. R. BABCOCK.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo.

A BUFFALO LIBRARY REMEMBERED.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 12th inst. and have entered your name, as the present head of the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, on my list of those to whom documents of general interest are first to be sent. I feel a deep interest in your association, and the young men connected with it, and will be happy to promote its usefulness and success in any way in my power.

Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Mr. CHARLES D. NORTON

Original MS. owned by the Buffalo Public Library.

WHEN ATTACKED BY THE ALBANY "JOURNAL."

WASHINGTON, March 7, 1850.

Hon. G. R. BABCOCK,

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 5th came to hand this morning, and I avail myself of the first leisure moment to return my thanks for it. It gave me the first intimation of Weed's article on the new paper. You know its utter untruth in regard to myself, and may as well state it. I neither desired the nomination for governor nor comptroller, but felt in both cases that to accept such a nomination was making a sacrifice that I could illy afford to make.

I had no hostility to our judicial nominations for the court of Appeals, but I deemed it important in the transition

from the old to the new constitution that Chief Justice Bronson should go into that court, and not regarding the election of Judges as of a strictly party character, I determined to vote for him and did vote for him, and this of course compelled me to omit one of the whig nominees, and as I knew least of Mr. Jordan [?], I omitted him, but not on account of any prejudice against him, or hostility to him. I voted for all the rest of the whig ticket, State and district, and Judge Whittlesey among the rest, and as I think you must have known my views at the time, you are at liberty to state these facts also. I do not myself wish to appear in print to vindicate myself from any unjust attacks of the *Journal* or any other paper when I can avoid it.

As to the establishment of this new paper. Bush and all connected with it know that I have urged a purchase of the *Journal* even at a sacrifice of $10,000 rather than establish a new paper. These are still my sentiments, as all I ask is an independent whig paper, devoted to the whig party and the whig cause, and to nothing else—not *selecting* its favorites and *neglecting* the rest, but leaving the selection of candidates to the appropriate conventions, and giving a just support to those who are fairly and regularly nominated.

But this paper is about to be started. I trust it will be discreetly conducted—sustaining no *clique,* and opposing no men or set of men, who act with the whig party. Such a paper may do good, and will receive my cordial approbation and support. I assisted by my humble might in starting the *Journal* on the same principles and from the same necessity. It has done much good & I trust it will do more. If it does I shall still be willing to sustain it as I have from its commencement.

I write in much haste but am

Truly yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE

P. S. Mr. Webster made a truly statesman-like speech in the Senate to-day. I return a copy of your letter and the article.

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo.

BUFFALO'S "UNION" CELEBRATION OF 1850.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1850.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your kind invitation to attend a "Union celebration" in the city of Buffalo, of the approaching Anniversary of our National Independence. Nothing could give me more pleasure than to mingle with my fellow-citizens on that joyous occasion. Judging from the favorable reports which I have recently heard of the progress of the cause of Temperance in Buffalo, I infer that this "Union celebration" implies a union of temperance and patriotism—of cool heads and warm hearts—and such a *union* is greatly desired at this time, to save the *Union* to which we are all so devotedly attached. .I do not, however, anticipate that it will be in my power to accept your flattering invitation, as my official duties will in all probability require my presence here.

I trust, however, that notwithstanding the present painful aspect of our political affairs and the jarring discord of sectional feeling, that the wisdom and conciliation of the present generation are equal to the preservation of that glorious Constitution, unimpaired, which they have received as the greatest blessing from their ancestors, and that this birthday of our nation shall ever find us *"one and inseparable."*

Truly yours MILLARD FILLMORE

ORSON PHELPS, *Esq., and others,*
Committee of Arrangements, Buffalo.

The celebration on this occasion was in a grove in the neighborhood of Virginia and Sixth streets—the latter now Front avenue.

TO THE WHIGS OF PHILADELPHIA.

To the Whigs of Philadelphia, who had invited the President and Vice-President to attend their celebration on July 4, 1850, Vice-President Fillmore wrote:

WASHINGTON, June 19, 1850.

GENTLEMEN: Your invitation to participate with the Democratic Whig citizens of Philadelphia, in their Festival,

on the approaching anniversary of our Independence, has been received. Nothing could, I assure you, give me more pleasure than to be permitted to unite, on that occasion, with the Whigs of Philadelphia, in rendering "renewed demonstrations of attachment and fidelity to the Union." I regret to say, however, that I do not anticipate that it will be in my power to accept your flattering invitation, as my official duties leave but little time at my own disposal.

I trust, however, notwithstanding sectional feeling prevails to such an alarming extent, as to give to our political horizon a more portentous aspect than it has ever before assumed, that the wisdom and conciliation, of the present generation are equal to the preservation of our glorious *Union and Constitution;* and that they may be transmitted, as the richest political legacy, from generation to generation.

With great respect, I am, gentlemen,

Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

LORD ELGIN'S EXPECTED VISIT IN BUFFALO.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
WASHINGTON, July 22, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR: The enclosed copy of a private note addressed by Lord Grey to the American Minister in London was received this morning accompanied by a letter from Mr. Lawrence to myself.

I take great pleasure in forwarding it to you, as containing gratifying evidence that the British and Colonial authorities appreciate most highly the feelings manifested by the authorities and people of Buffalo on the occasion to which Lord Grey alludes, and that they esteem the hospitalities so handsomely proffered by you, as the Chief Magistrate of the city, as a striking proof of the kind feelings now so happily prevailing between the inhabitants of the United States and the British Dominions, feelings which it is the

interest of both countries and the desire of both to cherish and maintain.

With sincere respect
Very Truly, &c.,
MILLARD FILLMORE

To the Honorable HENRY K. SMITH, *Mayor of Buffalo, &c.*

The enclosure is as follows:

COLONIAL OFFICE [LONDON]
July 3, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR: I received by the mail a letter from Lord Elgin in which he expresses his very great regret that he had been disappointed in visiting Buffalo on the occasion of an excursion he lately made to Niagara, with the members of the Canadian Legislature, by various detentions they experienced in passing through the canals. He tells me that preparations, on a very magnificent scale, had been made by the citizens of Buffalo for the reception of himself and his party, but that unfortunately night overtook them before they reached Lake Erie, and the intended visit had to be given up. He is anxious that you should be aware how high a sense is entertained by himself and his companions of the kind feeling evinced on the occasion by the citizens of Buffalo, and how much they regretted having been prevented, by circumstances beyond their control, from availing themselves of the hospitality so handsomely proffered to them. If you have occasion to write to any of your friends in America, perhaps you would have the goodness to express the satisfaction with which I have received an account of so striking a display of the amicable feelings which prevail between the inhabitants of both sides of the boundary line between the United States and the British dominions.

I have the honor to be
Very faithfully yours
[*signed*] GREY.

His Excellency, The American Minister, &c., &c.

ON RECEIVING A GIFT OF WINE.

(Private)

WASHINGTON, July 23, 1850.

DEAR SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your kind note of this date, requesting my acceptance of a part of the Wine received by you from your friend S. H. Yeatman, Esq.

Like yourself, I am chiefly a water drinker, and consequently not a competent judge of its quality, but it will nevertheless be received by me with great pleasure and as soon as the removal of the habiliments of mourning from

the White House will permit the entertainment of my friends, it shall be as you request submitted to their criticism.

Very respectfully & truly
Yours &c.
MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. S. P. CHASE

Chase collection, Library of Congress.

RAILROAD CONVENTION AT PORTLAND.

WASHINGTON, July 25, 1850.

JOHN A. POOR, *Esq.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the Circular of the Committee for the proposed Railroad Convention to be held at Portland, on the 31st inst., for the purpose of taking into consideration the various schemes which have been proposed for the construction of a line of Railway through the State of Maine to the Lower British Provinces, and to some good harbor on the Eastern coast of Nova Scotia, together with your kind invitation, in behalf of the Committee, requesting my attendance at said Convention. I extremely regret that my official duties here will deprive me of the pleasure of being present on that interesting occasion. But feeling as I do a deep interest in all subjects of internal improvements which are calculated to develop the resources and advance the great interests of our country, I trust that your proposed Convention may be productive of the most happy results, and that through it another link may be added to that chain which is binding more closely the great commercial interests of this continent to those of Europe.

With my thanks for your flattering invitation,
I am, very respectfully
Your ob't servant
MILLARD FILLMORE

NEW YORK STATE FAIR.

WASHINGTON, August 9, 1850.

E. P. PRENTICE, *Esq.*

SIR: Yours of the 6th instant, inviting me in behalf of the New York State Agricultural Society, to attend the Annual Fair and Show, to be held near the city of Albany during the first week in September next, was duly received, and I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments to the Society for their kind invitation, and also to you for the flattering terms in which you were pleased to convey it.

Be assured that nothing would afford me more pleasure than to be present at the Fair, and witness the fine specimens of the mechanic arts and agricultural productions which will be there displayed. And if the adjournment of Congress and my official duties here will permit my absence from the city sufficiently long to enable me to attend it, I shall with pleasure avail myself of the invitation which has been so kindly extended to me; but I cannot but apprehend that this gratification may be denied me.

Very respectfully and truly

Your ob't serv't,

MILLARD FILLMORE

[*To the President of the New York State Agricultural Society.*]

RELATING TO A SCHOOL EXHIBIT.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
WASHINGTON, August 14, 1850.

JOSIAH HOLBROOK, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th instant, and beg leave to return to you, and through you to the scholars in Mrs. Hinton's school, my grateful acknowledgments for the beautiful specimens which you presented on their behalf, both of their industry, and their literary and scientific acquirements. The

manuscript maps are quite accurate, and the scholar who can execute them bids fair to attain distinction. The geometrical illustrations are beautiful and perfect, and the geological specimens appear to be admirably well selected. I am much pleased with the idea which you suggest, of interchanging these for similar objects in different parts of the United States. Such an exchange is not only calculated to advance the knowledge of all, but to stimulate each locality to an effort to excel.

Wishing you all success in your laudable undertaking, and again returning my thanks for the present, which I shall take great pleasure in exhibiting to my visitors,

I remain your obedient servant

MILLARD FILLMORE

According to the Washington *Republic,* the above letter was in acknowledgment of the receipt of an exhibit of children's work, from the Washington public schools.

LIFE MEMBER OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14, 1850.

To FREDERICK W. PORTER, *Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the American Sunday School Union:*

SIR: I have received through the Postoffice a certificate, signed by you, as Corresponding Secretary, by which it appears that I am appointed a Life Member of your Association by the payment of fifty dollars by the Sunday School children of the Brick Church, Rochester, N. Y.

This is an unexpected, and I fear an undeserved, compliment, so delicately and modestly conveyed that it could not fail to reach the heart. I therefore beg through you to make my grateful acknowledgments to the children for this valued token of their kind remembrance, and to assure them that I shall ever preserve it as a treasure from my young friends.

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Before the death of President Taylor, a Sunday school in Pennsylvania had raised a sum sufficient to constitute him a life member of the American Sunday School Union. Gen. Taylor acknowledged the compliment, and the

incident had wide publicity. Soon after Mr. Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency, the Sunday school of the Brick Church at Rochester, N. Y., took similar action in his behalf. Mr. Fillmore's letter of acknowledgment, as above, was read to the Brick Church Sunday school, Nov. 10, 1850.

TO M. VATTEMARE.

WASHINGTON, November 2, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR: I owe you an apology for having so long delayed to acknowledge the receipt of those two beautiful engravings which you presented to *"the Presidential Mansion,"* but this agreeable duty has been postponed from time to time by the pressure of other engagements.—Learning however that you were about to leave town, I could not longer justify a delay in returning my thanks for what must hereafter be prized as precious ornaments of the House appropriated to the use of the Chief Magistrate.

I also avail myself of the opportunity to express to you the high gratification which I enjoyed in examining the splendid series of Medals struck at various times by the French Government to commemorate great national events, which you presented to Congress. It will probably be many years, if not centuries, before this nation will be able to present so many memorials of victorious achievement. Our triumphs are triumphs of peace, and our conquests are conquests of reason, which do not dazzle like those of arms, and are seldom commemorated by the medallic art.

Wishing you all success in your noble enterprise of international exchanges, and a safe return to your native land, I have the honor to be

Yours truly
MILLARD FILLMORE

ALEXANDRE VATTEMARE, *Esq.*

The nature of M. Vattemare's visit may be inferred from the foregoing. He undertook to establish an international exchange of medals, maps, books, natural history collections, etc. He was given free passage to France, carrying with him a hundred cases of books, charts, etc., as presents from the United States and the different States to the Government and various institutions of France. Among other gifts, he carried two grizzly bears, as presents from Col. Fremont to the National Museum of France. *See,* for some account of M. Vattemare's system of international exchanges, the New York *Tribune,* Sept. 16, 1847.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO ROBERT COLLINS, ALLEGED OWNER OF WILLIAM AND ELLEN CRAFT, FUGITIVE SLAVES.

STATE DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, Nov. 19, 1850.

ROBERT COLLINS, *Macon, Ga.*

SIR: I am instructed by the President to inform you that your letter of the 2d instant, addressed to him, enclosing several slips from newspapers in reference to proceedings of a portion of the community of Boston, on the subject of the Fugitive Slave law, was received by him yesterday, and that he has given to the letter and its enclosures careful perusal. You state in substance that you are owner of Crafts, one of the fugitive slaves for whom warrants of arrest were issued in Boston, and call the President's attention to the enclosed slips, taken mostly from Northern papers, by which he will perceive the manner in which your agents were received and treated for merely asking that the slaves be returned according to the laws of the United States—that they have been arrested under various warrants as kidnappers, and on other frivolous pretentions, and unreasonable bail demanded and that your friends have become their sureties for more than $20,000. You also say that many cases in which officers have not performed their duty, will appear by the slips, and that warrants now lie dead in the marshal's office. You then speak of the pernicious effect of such proceedings, and of their tendency to disturb the harmony of the Union, and of the great importance of having the law faithfully executed; and, you, finally, enquire whether it is not in the power, and is not the intention, of the Executive of the United States to cause that law to be faithfully and properly enforced. To this the President directs me to reply, that you cannot be more deeply impressed than he is with the importance of having every law faithfully executed. Every statute in this country passed in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution must be presumed to embody the will of a majority of the people of the Union, and as such is entitled to the respect

and obedience of every true American citizen,—and the Constitution which the President has sworn to support has made it his especial duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. He has no thought of shrinking from his duty in this or any other case, but will, to the utmost of his ability, firmly and faithfully perform it, but how is he to cause the laws to be executed?

First, by appointing proper officers to fill the various offices, and discharge their various functions with diligence and fidelity—and if any shall be found incompetent or unfaithful, by removing them where he has the power of removal, and appointing more competent and faithful officers in their places—and secondly, in extreme cases, whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof be obstructed, in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by powers vested in civil officers, with powers which the law authorizes and requires them to call to their aid, it would be his duty to call forth the militia, and use the Army and Navy, for the purpose of overcoming such forcible combinations against the laws—but, in either case, prudence and justice require that there should be more satisfactory evidence of official delinquency or forcible resistance than mere rumor or newspaper statements, and yet these are all which have been furnished in this case. If any marshal neglects to perform his duty the law gives the right of action to the aggrieved party for the injury which he may sustain, and if he refuse to perform it the statute has imposed upon him a severe penalty—but if he refuse or wilfully neglect to perform it when this shall be satisfactorily made to appear to the President, then in addition to his liability to the aggrieved party, it would doubtless be the duty of the Executive to remove him from office and appoint another in his place.

But your letter contains no proof of this kind, and, therefore, seems to require no action. It is equally clear that no case is presented justifying a call upon the militia or the use of the army to execute the laws; and the President has

so much confidence in the patriotism and devotion to the laws which have always characterized a large majority of the citizens of Boston, that he cannot for a moment believe that it will ever be necessary to call in any extraordinary aid to execute the laws in that city. Individuals may become excited, and may, in the heat of the moment, offer resistance to the laws, but he has no doubt that in such an event, so much to be regretted, the good sense of the community would soon rally to support the civil authorities, and that those sustaining the law would triumph; but he directs me to assure you, that if unfortunately he should find himself mistaken in this, and the painful necessity should arise, he should perform his duty by employing all the means which the Constitution and Congress have placed at his disposal to enforce the law.

As to the complaint that your agents were unjustly persecuted, and held to bail in unreasonable amounts, for pretended offences—the President directs me to say, that however he may regret any such injustice and incivility, he is not aware that he has power to remedy the evil. If the complaints against your agent be unfounded, the defendants will, doubtless, be acquitted; and if malicious, they have their remedy in an action for a malicious prosecution.

But all these are judicial questions, over which the Executive can exercise no control, and the evil complained of results from the acknowledged rights of every individual to prosecute any one for an alleged offence or violation of right. It is important to avoid, as far as practicable, all causes of irritation, between the North and the South, and especially on the exciting subject of slavery. Were he permitted to advise, he would suggest to all the importance of permitting the laws to take their usual course, and that everything tending to intimidation or illegal or unjust annoyance should be scrupulously avoided. Every effort should be made to cultivate a fraternal feeling. We should be a people of one interest and one sentiment—knowing no local division and tolerating no sectional injustice. Our Union, so dear to the heart of every true American, can

only be preserved by a strict observance of the Constitution and impartial administration of the laws.

I am, sir, respectfully your obd't servant

W. S. DERRICK,
Acting Secretary.

Though penned by a secretary, the above sets forth Mr. Fillmore's views, and was obviously written by the President's direction.

William and Ellen Craft (not "Crafts") were slaves who fled from Georgia to Boston, whence they were followed by representatives of their Southern owner; but aided by Theodore Parker and others, they eluded the slave-catchers and escaped to England. On this, one of the most famous of the cases that embittered the abolitionists and arrayed them against President Fillmore, see, among countless narratives, the *Liberator* (Boston), Nov. 1, 1850; Still's "Underground Railroad," pp. 368-374; Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," vol. ii, p. 325; *New England Magazine,* Jan. 1890.

ON RECEIPT OF "THE MOST SPLENDID COACH."

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27, 1850.

MY DEAR MRS. BROOKS: I have really been so busy in preparing for congress that I have neglected, not to say forgotten every thing else. I awakened from this *abstraction* to-day by the reception from some unknown gentlemen of the most Splendid coach I have ever seen. The first thought was that it should be shown upon the Avenue, but alas, the livery coats are not here, and the carriage must not appear till all is complete. I think we will omit the pants for the present, and if you can send the coats by express you will greatly oblige

Your friend

FILLMORE

Mail closing! Adieu!!

Original MS. owned by Mr. Geo. B. Richmond, New York City.

Soon after Mr. Fillmore became President, his friends in New York presented to Mrs. Fillmore a fine carriage and span of horses, which were used by the President and his family until the expiration of his term, when it became a question what should be done with so elegant an establishment. Mr. Fillmore thought his fortune did not justify him in living in a style suitable for the maintenance of such an equipage, nor was it conformable to his tastes and simple habits as a private citizen, that he should do so. The articles, too, were of a perishable nature, and must soon disappear; and as he desired to per-

petuate the remembrance of so munificent a gift, he decided to sell the whole and expend the proceeds in the purchase of a set of plate. This was done, and the set, consisting of twelve pieces, was manufactured to order in New York and numbered from one to twelve inclusive. The principal article, a server, had the following inscription, and was intended to descend as an heirloom in his family "as an imperishable record of his gratitude": "The carriage and horses generously presented to Mrs. Millard Fillmore by the Citizens of New York in 1850, having been sold in 1853, the proceeds are invested in this set of plate as a perpetual memento of gratitude to the donor." The present whereabouts of this silver is not known to the editor.

ON BEING INVITED TO VISIT ENGLAND.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 1, 1850.

WILLIAM S. STELL, *Esq., Manchester* [*Eng.*].

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 8th ult., through Mr. Randall expressing the hope that I may visit the World's Fair in London, in May next, and assuring me that if I do so I shall receive a cordial welcome from my countrymen in England, and tendering me the hospitalities of your own house whilst I remained in Manchester.

Previous to the death of my lamented predecessor, I had anticipated the pleasure of visiting London at the time of the fair, but I deem it now impossible to leave my official duties here; and your kind letter causes a still deeper regret at my disappointment. Were it possible for me to be absent for such a length of time, nothing could be more gratifying than to accept your proffered hospitalities. I well recollect meeting you and your lady in the fall of 1837, and should be extremely happy to renew the acquaintance. Independent of that, I have always felt a strong desire to visit Great Britain. Its soil is classic ground to me, and I should be most happy to be able to make a personal comparison between the leading men of that country and my own, to see how far we have improved upon the political institutions of the mother country. But this must be deferred till a more convenient season.

Accept my thanks for your kindness; remember me most cordially to your lady, and believe me, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 21, 1851.

TO THE HON. SOLOMON G. HAVEN.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1850.
SATURDAY EVENING, 9 o'clock.

DEAR HAVEN: The busy week is nearly ended, the last letter read—but not answered—and the last office-seeker politely bowed out of the room, and I seize the precious moment simply to say that I am very anxious that you and Mrs. Haven should come and make us a visit this winter. Do come!—come directly to the *White House*. We have one spare room in this temple of inconveniences, neatly fitted up—and just the thing for you and Mrs. H. *So you must come*. I have a thousand things to say to you that I cannot write, and we shall all be so delighted to see you—so come! —come quickly, but if you cannot come quickly, come! And write the day you will be here, and my carriage shall meet you at the depot. But I cannot say more—another *friend* is waiting, so adieu!

Mrs. F. joins me in kindest regards to yourself and Mrs. H.

Truly yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Miss Ida Haven, Buffalo.

TO REV. DR. JOHN C. LORD.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 13, 1851.

Rev. J. C. LORD,

MY DEAR SIR: "The cares of state" leave me no time for general reading, and it was not till this evening, that I found leisure to peruse your admirable sermon on the "Higher

NATHAN K. HALL.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

SOLOMON G. HAVEN.

THE DISTINGUISHED LAW FIRM OF FILLMORE, HALL & HAVEN.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS OWNED BY THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Law and Fugitive Slave Bill." I return you my thanks, most cordially and sincerely, for this admirable discourse. You have rendered the nation a great and valuable service, and I am highly gratified to learn, that thousands and tens of thousands have been reprinted in New York, and sent here, and are now being distributed under the franks of members of Congress. It cannot fail to do good. It reaches a class of people of excellent intentions, but somewhat bigoted prejudices, who could be reached in no other way. Again I thank you for the service you have done my country, and am

Truly yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

This letter was occasioned by Dr. Lord's Thanksgiving sermon in 1850, "On the Higher Law as applicable to the Fugitive Slave Bill." Based on the theory that human governments are a divine institution, Dr. Lord argued the sovereignty of human law as the reflex of divine law. Mr. Seward, it will be recalled, in a speech in the Senate resisting the fugitive slave law, had formulated the phrase, "There is a higher law than the Constitution." Dr. Lord on the other hand, laid down the formula: "The action of the civil governments, within their appropriate jurisdiction, is final and conclusive upon the citizen," and on the doctrines of the New Testament he based the theory of entire subjection to civil authority. These views never had a more brilliant advocacy, and the sermon gave to Dr. Lord a national reputation. By some he was looked to as a seer and a prophet, by others he was denounced as "an apostate from the principles of liberty." Mr. Webster, in a speech at Syracuse in 1851, defending his own seventh of March speech in the Senate, said: "They denounce me as a fit associate of Benedict Arnold and Professor Stuart and Dr. Lord. I would be glad to strike out Benedict Arnold; as for the rest, I am proud of their company." Ten years later Dr. Lord, like most of those in the North who had shared his views, became an earnest upholder of the Union. Perhaps with no change of principles, there was a radical change in the conclusions arrived at under the new conditions of secession.

ELECTED MEMBER OF THE CLAY LITERARY SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15, 1851.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th inst. acquainting me with the fact of my election as an Honorary Member of the "Clay Literary Society of Philadelphia," for which compliment I beg you will return my acknowledgments to the Society.

With the best wishes for the prosperity of your Society, I have the honor to remain

Truly Your Obt. Servt.

MILLARD FILLMORE

JAMES S. WHITNEY, *Esq.*

Phila.

MS. collections, Chicago Historical Society.

CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY IN NEW YORK.

WASHINGTON, February 17, 1851.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter, informing me that the Union Safety Committee intended to unite with their fellow citizens in celebrating the anniversary of Washington's birthday, and inviting me to participate in the festivities. Many considerations would tempt me to accept this flattering invitation, did not my official duties compel me to decline it.

Nothing could be more gratifying than to meet my old friends in your enterprising city. Their uniform kindness has laid me under many obligations, and the noble stand which they have taken in support of the laws of the Union, is deserving of the highest commendations.

It appears to me, too, that the Birthday of Washington is deserving of every honor which the Americans can bestow upon it. It is now more than half a century since the grave closed over all that was mortal of this illustrious man; but his voice still speaks from the tomb. His paternal advice still sounds in our ears, and his far seeing wisdom still warns us of our danger. How truly prophetic is that paragraph in his Farewell Address, in which he says:

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations — Northern and Southern — Atlantic and Western — whence *designing men* may endeavor to excite the belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield

yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

Who can doubt that his calm contemplative mind looked down the long vista of coming years, and saw in the distance that *"designing men"* would sow sectional jealousies for *selfish objects* which might destroy that Union which he loved so well, and which he justly regarded as the very palladium of our liberties and national prosperity.

But this illustrious patriot taught quite as much by his example as his precept. He was blessed by nature with a vigorous constitution and a well-balanced and discriminating mind. Not brilliant, but singularly calm and practical. His judgment was never clouded by prejudice or disturbed by passion. With a never failing trust in an overruling Providence; he never doubted that a righteous cause must succeed; and with a self-reliance, which nothing could give but a disinterested devotion to his country, and a firm resolve—if necessary—to offer himself upon its altar, he proved himself the prudent, brave and victorious General, and the wise and sagacious Statesman. He never sought office, but when conferred, he devoted soul and body to the performance of his duties. He shrunk from no labor, or sacrifice, and whenever his services could be dispensed with, he voluntarily resigned the high trusts with which he was invested, and without a regret, retired to private life. It is truly refreshing to contemplate such a character, and slake one's thirst from so pure a fountain of patriotism.

But I have said more than I intended, and must close by returning my thanks for your invitation, and expressing the hope that so far from weakening, the recent agitations may strengthen the bonds of Union; that every sectional jealousy may be dispelled; that every constitutional right may be held sacred and inviolate, and that our glorious Union may be as enduring as the fame of the immortal Washington.

I have the honor to be, your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ON THE PURCHASE OF BOOKS.

WASHINGTON, March 28, 1851.

SIR: I sincerely regret that the fact of your papers having been mislaid has prevented me until now, from complying with the request contained in your letter, to return them to you. Several searches had been made for them which proved unsuccessful. They have however at last come to light having been found amongst some other papers, and I hasten to enclose them immediately, as I now do to your address. Mr. Lanman who is the librarian of the War Department, purchased the books for the Ex. Mansion without any charge whatever, except the payment of his necessary expenses. I am therefore surprised at what you say in your letter in regard to the books having been ordered at 20 pr. ct. discount from the price they were offered by you, as the bill was paid to Messrs Bartlett & Welford, and the price at which the Reviews were charged amounted to something over one dollar from the prices they were offered by you, and for which a receipt from yourself to Messrs Bartlett & Welford was furnished. I should like therefore to know if there is any fraud in the case or if you gave a receipt for more than was paid you. It certainly was not my intention to allow any middleman to make a percentage on the purchases. I should rather have given it directly to you.

Yours truly,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

MS. collections, Massachusetts Historical Society. Addresses lacking.

NATIONAL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Legislature of the State of New York directed the preparation and presentation of an appropriate tablet for the Washington National monument. In March, 1851, the Governor of the State, Washington Hunt, wrote to Presi-

dent Fillmore that the tablet was ready. It contained but the simple coat of arms of New York. In a long letter the Governor enlarges upon the significance of the tribute from the Empire State and upon the noble character of the National monument. The tablet and letter were delivered to President Fillmore, who received them in his capacity as President ex-officio of the Washington Monument Association. Replying to Governor Hunt, he acknowledged the contribution of New York in the following letter:

WASHINGTON, April 7, 1851.

SIR: As President ex-officio of the "Washington National Monument Association" I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your eloquent and patriotic letter of the 22d ultimo, by the hand of your military aid, Col. Robert H. Morris, and to inform you that the "Tablet" of which he was the bearer, designed by the State of New York for the Washington National Monument, was this day presented by him to the Board of Directors.

I feel myself singularly fortunate in being the honored recipient on behalf of the Association of this appropriate contribution from my native State to this noble enterprise. Often as I look from my window at this proud monument rearing its lofty head to the clouds, the inquiry suggests itself—Why raise this massive pile to the honor of Washington? Can it add to his fame? Is it necessary to perpetuate his memory? No, neither. His fame is imperishable, and his memory will endure when this marble pile shall have crumbled to dust. This splendid monument is not reared that future generations may know that Washington lived; but that they may know that his fellow-citizens appreciated his worth, and were deeply grateful for the inestimable blessings which he conferred upon the country. It is not, therefore, so much of a monument to the memory of Washington as it is of the gratitude of his countrymen; and in this noble emulation it gives me infinite pleasure to

see my own beloved State inscribing her noble motto *"Excelsior"* upon the marble pile of a Nation's gratitude.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's

Most ob't serv't

MILLARD FILLMORE.

TO CITIZENS OF LOWELL, MASS.

[WASHINGTON], May 8, 1851.

. . . I feel that my first duty is due to the country; and to this I am bound to sacrifice every consideration of personal convenience and pleasure. I trust the storm which threatened to overwhelm the Government, and array section against section, and brother against brother, in treasonable and fratricidal strife, has passed away. But the waters are still agitated, and it will take some time for the elements to subside.

I have also just accepted an invitation to attend the celebration of the opening of the New York & Erie Railroad, but I feel that I cannot with propriety be absent longer at this time than is indispensable to accomplish that object. Under all the circumstances I can only say that I shall still hope to be able to visit your beautiful and flourishing city during the summer. But at what time I cannot now say. . . .

[MILLARD FILLMORE]

BOSTON FUGITIVE SLAVE CASES.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1851.

HON. FRANCIS BRINLEY, *President of the Common Council of the City of Boston:*

SIR: When I had the pleasure of meeting you and your associates of the Committee of Boston, in New York, and you did me the honor of inviting me to visit your city, and kindly tendered me, on behalf of the Common Council, its

hospitalities, I fondly hoped that I should be able during the present month to accept your invitation. But I regret to say that I find it inconsistent with what I deem my public duty to indulge in this gratification; and, therefore, while I am profoundly grateful for the distinguished honor implied by the invitation, I feel reluctantly compelled to decline it.

My personal acquaintance in your city is but slight, but slight as it has been, it has left many pleasant recollections, and I should have been extremely happy to have renewed and extended it at this time. I have long entertained a high respect for the intelligence and patriotism of the great mass of your citizens; and recent events have not impaired that respect. You have been, and I trust ever will be, a law-loving and a law-abiding people. I know that your devotion to this great principle has had a severe test in your recent efforts to execute the law for the return of fugitive slaves. Slavery, in any form, is repugnant to your feelings and education, and the fugitive naturally and inevitably excites your deepest sympathies. Nothing but a stern sense of duty, founded upon a rational, solemn conviction, that a constitutional and legal obligation must be obeyed, at any and every sacrifice, could have insured the execution of a law in a case like this. But, for myself, I never doubted that the law would ultimately triumph. Good faith is the foundation of all morality and all social security. The free states had pledged themselves by the Constitution to the performance of this duty. The slave states had a right to insist, and did insist upon its performance. There was, then, no alternative but to break our faith, forfeit our word of honor, and thereby trample the Constitution of our country in the dust, and run the hazards of a civil war; or else to admit the obligation like honest, true-hearted men, and do all in our power to comply with it—still hoping and trusting that in due time some mode would be devised by those who have the constitutional power to abolish slavery, and who are most deeply interested in its final extinction—to get rid of the evil without destroying the fairest fabric of freedom that mortal hands have ever raised—and in its ruins extin-

guishing the last hope of humanity for self-government. Permit me to say that this government has cost Boston too much to be given up or hazarded for slight or trivial causes. Some of the patriots of the Revolution still linger among you—and the monumental pillar of your grateful recollection of the heroes who fell at Bunker Hill, would seem to be a mockery, if their sons could so soon forget that this Constitution cost the heart's blood of their sires.

That your citizens have acted wisely and patriotically in sustaining the law, I cannot doubt. Their conduct has been governed by the highest sense of moral and political obligation; and for this noble example, I feel constrained, as the Chief Magistrate, whose especial duty it is to see that the laws are faithfully executed, to return the citizens of Boston my warmest acknowledgments; and I should have been most happy to have done this in person were it consistent with my official engagements to leave this city.

With many thanks to you, and through you to the citizens of Boston, for this kind invitation,

I have the honor to be,

Your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE

The "recent events" alluded to in the foregoing letter were the riotous seizure of the fugitive slave Shadrach from the custody of officers, by a mob, the leaders of which hurried him off to Canada. This was in February, 1851. This letter had wide newspaper publication.

RELATING TO THE TONAWANDA RESERVATION.

WASHINGTON, June 20, 1851.

Hon. T. C. LOVE.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 17th inst. came to hand this morning, and as I am preparing to leave town tomorrow morning I am too busy to give it an extended reply. You say you have been informed from a source which you are hardly permitted to question, that I, as President of the United States, had ordered the supplemental award, so

SILVER MEDALLIONS OF MILLARD FILLMORE.

STRUCK FOR DISTRIBUTION TO PROMINENT INDIAN CHIEFS DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION.
FROM ORIGINALS, SIZES AS SHOWN, OWNED BY THE BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

called, got up by the proprietors of the Tonawanda Reservation in 1848, to be admitted to the files of the Department of the Interior; and that I had also ordered that the money which that award purports to distribute among the owners of improvements on that reservation, should be tendered and offered to them individually. You then ask if your information is correct.

I answer, No, Sir. I have given no order at any time for the filing of that award in any department. Since the receipt of your letter I have called upon the Secretary of the Interior, who informs me that the award has never been filed in his office or department. I have also called upon the Secretary of War, who informs me that application was made to file it in his office and he took the opinion of the attorney general, and permitted it to be deposited in his department, and he made upon it a certain endorsement. I requested him to send up a copy of the attorney general's opinion and his endorsement, and if they come before the mail closes I will send them with this.

I was applied to, and requested to order this award filed, but on examination I concluded that I had nothing to do with it, that the whole power was with the secretary and I declined interfering.

In reference to the payment of the money, I have made no order yet, but it having been represented to me that there are individuals, who are willing to receive their pay and give up their improvements pursuant to the treaty of 1842, I propose to appoint an agent with whom I shall deposit the fund which I hold for that purpose, with directions to pay to such as are willing to receive it on such conditions. But I deem it no part of my duty to make any "tender" or *"offer of payment,"* beyond this. But the money, in the language of the treaty, has been *"paid to the President of the United States to be distributed among the owners of the land improvements,"* and I intend by this to discharge the duty imposed upon me by the treaty, and leave the respective parties to their legal remedies. This I suppose has been the intention of the Secretary of War, and I have no

reason to doubt that he has acted in accordance with his duty. I am in great haste,

Your obdt ser't

MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Buffalo Historical Society.

TO THE AUTHOR OF "LIVES OF THE GOVERNORS OF NEW YORK."

WASHINGTON CITY, Sept. 30, 1851.

JNO. S. JENKINS, *Esq.*,

MY DEAR SIR: Your note of the 24th inst., informing me that you had done me the honor to forward to me a copy of your "Lives of the Governors of New York," [1] came to hand on the 26th, but the book did not arrive until yesterday.

I have availed myself of a few leisure moments to dip into the work, and have been both interested and instructed and consider it a valuable contribution to the history of my own State. It appears to me that you have executed the difficult task of drawing the moral lineaments of the characters of the several distinguished men that have filled that high office with great success, and I beg to return you my sincere thanks for the honor you have done me in presenting to me the copy.

I am your obedient servant

MILLARD FILLMORE

TO A COMPATRIOT OF KOSSUTH.

WASHINGTON CITY (D. C.), Oct. 21, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 8th ultimo, came to hand a few days since, and I was gratified to learn that your weary pilgrimage had at last come to an end, and that you had found a resting-place, and I trust an asylum, in the new but fertile State of Iowa.

1. "Lives of the Governors of the State of New York," a popular work in its day, published at Auburn, N. Y., by Derby & Miller (8vo. pp. 826, ill.). The author wrote also a "History of the War with Mexico," and a "Political History of New York."

Accept my sincerest thanks for your kind congratulations at my unexpected elevation to the Presidency. When I met you here, I never expected to occupy this position. A painful dispensation of Providence has, however, cast upon me the burden and responsibility of this distinguished station, but whether for honor or dishonor, or for weal or wo, time alone can determine. You have seen enough of the cares and uncertainty of official life to appreciate its labors and its instability. I look forward for my reward, whatever may be the result, only in the consciousness of an honest endeavor to discharge my duty faithfully and impartially to my whole country. That being done, its destiny is in the hands of the Supreme Arbiter of human affairs, in whose justice and mercy I have the most abiding confidence.

Though we make it an invariable rule, as a nation, not to interfere in foreign wars, yet our people feel a deep sympathy for the oppressed everywhere, and are ready to extend a liberal hand to those who suffer in the cause of freedom. I cannot doubt, therefore, that Congress will deal generously with the Hungarians who have sacrificed all for independence and freedom, and are now exiles in a strange land.

I am gratified to hear that you receive communications from the noble and gallant Kossuth. I shall always be most happy to hear of his health and prosperity, and to receive through you any communication intended for me, or for the American government.

With my sincere prayers for your health and prosperity, and for the health and prosperity of your associates,

I remain your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

To LADISLAUS UJHAZY, *the Hungarian Exile,*
New Buda, Thompson's River, Decatur county, Iowa.

One of Kossuth's compatriots, Ladislaus Ujhazy, settled in the summer of 1850 at New Buda, Decatur County, Iowa. In the fall of that year, he wrote to President Fillmore, in French, narrating the experience of himself and other Hungarian exiles who had settled in Iowa. He had received a letter from Louis Kossuth and it was in order, he said, to lay it before the President that he took the liberty of writing. President Fillmore's reply is given above. Postmaster-General Hall appointed this one-time Hungarian governor, to be postmaster at

New Buda; among Judge Hall's papers in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society is an interesting letter, in English, from ex-Governor Ujhazy, expressing his gratitude for the appointment.

"LIBERIA TO AMERICA."

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Nov. 12, 1851.

Rev. Mr. GURLEY

DR. SIR: I received the enclosed poetical appeal from *"Liberia to America"* from its talented author and I have kept it some time, in hopes of seeing you that I might hand it to you for insertion in your paper, to which it appears to me properly to belong.

I am your obt. servt.

MILLARD FILLMORE

Dreer collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Phineas Densmore Gurley was a prominent Presbyterian minister who held pastorates in Indianapolis, Ind., Dayton, O., and Washington. In 1859 he was appointed chaplain of the United States Senate. He was present at the deathbed of Lincoln, and preached his funeral sermon. He died in Washington, Sept. 30, 1868.

TO AN AUTOGRAPH COLLECTOR.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
WASHINGTON, Dec. 15, 1851.

N. W. N. OSBORNE, *Esq.*

SIR: In compliance with your request I have the honor to send my autograph. Your obt. servt.

MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Albany Institute, Albany, N. Y.

NEW YORK'S POLITICAL STATUS.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1852.

Hon. GEO. R. BABCOCK

MY DEAR SIR: I send you the Blue Book by this mail.

May I trouble you to obtain for me the *"Red Book"* and mark the political character of each Senator and Represen-

tative, and forward it to me, with any expense you may incur and I will cheerfully remit the amount.

Can N. Y. be carried for any whig candidate for president and if so for whom? I desire this *frankly* and *confidentially.*

I am in great haste

Your obt serv't

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily B. Alward, Buffalo.

TO MRS. JAMES BROOKS.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON CITY,
March 18, 1852.

MY DEAR MRS. BROOKS: As often as you have reminded me of my neglect to comply with your request for an autograph for your friend, I have felt mortified and pained at my forgetfulness; but really your note, reminding me of my delinquencies, is so very kind that I now feel as though I should have lost much if I had done my duty more promptly.

I therefore cheerfully redeem my promise to send an autograph, and with it the kindest regards and most sincere respect of Your friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mr. Geo. H. Richmond, New York City.

CASE OF GENERAL TALCOTT.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 26, 1852.

Hon. JAMES BROOKS,

MY DEAR SIR: I have your note, inclosing a letter from S. V. Talcott, asking that a nomination for a successor to his father, General Talcott, should be delayed, until the next session of Congress, which letter I herewith return. It is a letter by a son pleading for his father, and that alone prevents my noticing some imputations and insinuations which it contains. I may, however, remark, that, I had no agency

in procuring the conviction of his father, and that the solemn duty of passing upon the case, by approving the proceedings of the Court, was to me a very painful one. My social relations with him and his family had been of the most kindly and agreeable nature, and I have recently consented to the appointment of his brother to a very important and lucrative employment, to run the boundary line of Iowa. I cannot, of course, hope to escape censure from interested partisans or friends, but, it would be well that they should recollect, that I was not the Judge of General Talcott; that he had a fair trial by his peers,—men either without political bias or sympathising with him, at least, in the honor and welfare of the army; and, that, after a patient hearing, there was an unanimous condemnation, with but one voice even for mercy. Why, then, should bad motives be imputed to me, merely because I have not seen fit to set aside, or disregard the decision of such a tribunal? But, it is due to myself, to say, that, from a tender regard for General Talcott and his friends, I took the trouble, amidst the labors and confusion of official toil, to read through the able argument in his favor, by Mr. Spencer, and regretted extremely, that I did not feel justified in coming to the same conclusion that he had done. But, I have said enough, and more than I intended, on this subject. The request which you make comes too late. I see by my books that Col. Craig was nominated to fill the vacancy occasioned by the removal of Genl Talcott on the 19th of December last. I do not know whether the Senate have acted upon it or not; if they have, it has escaped my recollection. I am your obedt servt

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by J. M. Fox, Philadelphia.

AS TO THE FILLMORE ANCESTRY.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 31st, 1852.

H. G. SOMERBY, *Esq.*

SIR: Your note of the 9th inst came duly to hand, requesting the pedigree of my family. Little, I believe, is

known of the genealogy of the Fillmores, as the family has been quite too obscure to make it an object to trace its pedigree. I know nothing beyond my great grand father John Fillmore, who was a native of Ipswich, Massachusetts. It is not improbable, that the name in English was spelt Phillemore, or possibly Filmer, but I have never thought it worth the trouble of an investigation. I, however, in compliance with your request, send a brief biography, which has been published, of myself, which contains all I know of my pedigree.

I have the honor to be
Your obedt. servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Massachusetts Historical Society.

DECLINING AN INVITATION.

MY DEAR MR. BROOKS: I have your note reminding me of my promise to attend your daughter Kate's Fancy Ball this evening; and regret extremely to say that I have been confined to my room for three days by a severe cold, which will deprive me of the anticipated pleasure.

I am truly yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

April 15. [?1852]

Original MS. owned by Mr. Geo. H. Richmond, New York City.

HIS ATTITUDE ON THE COMPROMISE BILL.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 24th, 1852.

[*To Hon.* JAMES BROOKS]

MY DEAR SIR: You inquire of me, what were the circumstances, in reference to the declaration made by Senator Pratt in the Senate, on the subject of my views as to the Compromise Bill while I was presiding officer of that body. I was informed by Senator Pratt, that a rumor had been

circulated in the Senate, that, while the Compromise Bill was pending there, and I was the presiding officer, and there seemed to be some probability that it might eventually be decided by my casting vote, I had determined to vote against it, and had prepared a speech, or argument, to be delivered on the occasion, in justification of the vote which I had intended to give, and that I had shown this speech or argument to several of my friends, and consulted them on the subject. To this I replied, that it was not true. I said, that I had never prepared such a speech, or shown such an one to any person, and that the only address which I have ever prepared for the Senate, except the one on taking the oath of office, was in reference to my duties as the presiding officer of the body in maintaining order, and that was read to the Senate and entered upon its journals; and on his inquiry if he was at liberty to make this known, I told him that he was, whenever and wherever he pleased. I do not know how this rumor got into circulation, but I apprehend it must have arisen from some casual remarks I may have dropped, or from some effort I may have made to support the Administration of General Taylor, before the Compromise Bill was reported. But after this Bill was reported, and especially after it became probable that I might be called upon to give the casting vote, I purposely avoided expressing any opinion on the subject, and endeavored, as far as possible, to hold my judgment in suspense until the Bill should be perfected, that I might then judge what was my duty in voting for or against it. It will be seen by looking at the journals, that I left the chair on the 6th of May. The Compromise Bill was reported on the 8th, during my absence at Buffalo, and I did not resume the chair again until the 20th of May. I have looked through my confidential correspondence and find no other allusions to the subject of the course I intended to pursue than the following:

On the 18th of June, in writing confidentially to a friend, I said: "I think the Compromise Bill will pass the Senate, but it may come to my casting vote—as to that—*Quaere?* I shall wait till I see what shape it assumes before I determine to say *"yea"* or *"nay."*["]

On the 7th of July, in writing to the same person, I made use of the following language: "I perceive the papers are discussing the probability of my casting vote on the Compromise. *'Of that knoweth no man.'* I think it never will be given, but if it is, it will be for what I think right upon the whole, regardless of all personal consequences. I have nothing to gain or lose, but in the independent and faithful discharge of my duty, regardless of demagogues, North or South."

About this time I recollect having a conversation with Gen'l Taylor, in which I said to him in substance, that, from present appearances, I might be called upon to give a casting vote in the Senate on the Compromise Bill, and if I should feel it my duty to vote for it, as I might, I wished him to understand, that it was not out of any hostility to him or his Administration, but the vote would be given, because I deemed it for the interests of the country. I have no recollection of having any conversation with any other person in reference to the Bill, or of having expressed an opinion to any one that I should vote for or against it. Of course I cannot be presumed to recollect all I may have said to any one. I was anxious, before the Bill was introduced, to see the measure tried, recommended by the Administration, thinking, if it failed, we would be then more likely to harmonize upon some other measure; but after the Compromise Bill was introduced, and when it became apparent that that measure had got to be adopted, or none, I ceased any efforts to have the measure recommended by the President brought under consideration, and awaited the progress of the Senate in the perfection of the Compromise to determine my own duty in voting for or against it. From the report that I have seen of Senator Pratt's speech he went farther than I intended in what I said to him, and I have been intending for some days to see him, but have been so busy that I have neglected it. These are however the facts in reference to it, and if you desire to say anything on the subject, you can rely upon them, but I do not think it would be advisable to go into all the details which I have stated and I

desire you to see Mr. Pratt, or that you would, before you say anything on the subject.

I am your obt servt

MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. JAMES BROOKS.

MS. collections, Buffalo Historical Society.

James Brooks—distinguished for many services, especially as editor, author, and politician—was at this time a Representative in Congress. Formerly a Whig, the compromise measures of 1850 brought him into the Democratic party. For many years he was one of Mr. Fillmore's close friends.

OPEN LETTER TO THE NATIONAL WHIG CONVENTION OF 1852.

In 1852, Mr. Fillmore's political opponents represented that he was exceedingly eager of the Whig Presidential nomination, and that, moreover, he was making use of the influence of his high office to secure it. Probably no man has ever figured in American public life who was freer from this sort of political guile than Mr. Fillmore. So persistent, however, were the attacks that he found it advisable to address to the president of the National Whig Convention a very full statement of his position and views. It is, perhaps, one of the most significant and important documents of his entire political career. The letter follows:

WASHINGTON, June 10th, 1852.

To the President of the National Whig Convention:

SIR: This communication will be presented to you and through you, to the delegated wisdom of the Whig party over which you preside, by the Hon. George R. Babcock, who represents in your body the Congressional district in which I reside.

I shall trust that I shall be pardoned by the Convention for adverting briefly to the course which I have pursued, and the causes which have induced it, as a means of explaining why I have selected this time and mode of making this annunciation.

All must recollect that when I was so suddenly and unexpectedly called to the exalted station which I now occupy, by the death of my lamented and illustrious predecessor, there was a crisis in our public affairs full of difficulty and danger. The country was agitated by political and sectional passions and dissensions, growing out of the slavery and territorial questions then pending, and for which Congress has as yet been able to agree upon no measure of compromise and adjustment.

The Union itself was threatened with dissolution and patriots and statesmen looked with apprehension to the future. In that feeling I participated most profoundly. The difficulties and dangers which surrounded us were calmly but anxiously surveyed. I was oppressed by a sense of the great responsibilities that rested upon me, and sincerely distrusted my ability to sustain them in a manner satisfactory and useful to the country. But I was bound to make the attempt, and to do it with any hope of success, I felt it necessary to discard every personal consideration, and devote myself to the difficult task before me with entire singleness of heart.

To prepare and strengthen myself for this task I endeavored to lay aside, as far as practicable, every merely selfish consideration—to banish from my mind every local or sectional prejudice—and to remember only that I was an American citizen, and the Magistrate of the American Republic, bound to regard every portion and section of it with equal justice and impartiality. That I might do this the more effectually, I resolved within myself not to seek a reelection.

Thus prepared, I entered upon the discharge of my official duties, with a determination to do everything in my power to aid in the settlement of those dangerous controversies. Fortunately for our favored country, a majority in both Houses of Congress, rising above mere party and personal considerations, nobly and patriotically devoted themselves to the great work of pacification. The constitutional advisers whom I had called to my aid, and to whose fidelity, talents and patriotism the country is chiefly indebted for any

benefit it may have received from my administration, with a unanimity and zeal worthy of every commendation, cordially gave their countenance and influence to the legislative department, in perfecting and adopting those healing measures of Compromise, to which upon their passage I felt bound, by every consideration of public duty, to give my official approval. These laws being enacted, my constitutional duty was equally plain to "take care that they were faithfully executed." But this I found the most painful of all my official duties. Nevertheless, I resolved to perform it, regardless of all consequences to myself; and in doing so, I determined to know no North and no South—and no friends but those who sustained the Constitution and laws,—and no enemies but those who opposed them.

The gratifying result of this policy is before you and the country. The angry strife which for a time threatened to array State against State, and brother against brother, and deluge our happy land with fraternal blood, and desolate it with fire and sword, has fortunately passed away. The surging billows of sectional agitation are calmed, and the public mind is fast settling down into its accustomed channels, and will soon renew its wonted devotion to the Constitution and the Union.

Availing myself of this happy change, I had determined, when the present Congress met, to announce to the public, in my annual message my previous resolution not to suffer my name to come before the National Convention for a nomination. I accordingly prepared a paragraph to that effect, but was persuaded to strike it out lest it might have an unfavorable influence upon the then pending election in Virginia. After that had passed, I concluded to withdraw my name by a published address to the people, and prepared one accordingly, but this coming to the knowledge of some of my friends, they represented to me that my withdrawal, at that time, would not only endanger the perpetuity of those measures that I deemed so essential to the peace and welfare of the country, but would sacrifice many friends who had stood by my administration in the dark and perilous crisis through which it had so recently passed. The first was an

appeal to my patriotism, and the second to my gratitude. I could resist neither, and therefore yielded to their request, and consented that my name should remain where it was, until time should show, as I presumed it would, that its further use could neither benefit them nor the cause which we all had so much at heart. It was, however, distinctly understood that I could not consent to any efforts to procure a nomination, but if one were freely and voluntarily tendered, I should not be at liberty to decline it.

The embarrassing question now presents itself, who is to determine when the use of my name can no longer benefit my friends or our common cause? To assume to decide this myself, in advance of the Convention, without consultation with those who have so generously sustained me, might be deemed by them unjust. To consult them is utterly impracticable, and to suffer my name to go into a contest for the nomination is contrary to my original intention and utterly repugnant to my feelings. I have therefore, without consultation with any one, felt justified in assuming the responsibility of authorizing and requesting Mr. Babcock, either before or after any vote may be taken in the Convention, and whenever he shall be satisfied that I have discharged my duty to my friends and the country, to present this letter, and withdraw my name from the consideration of the Convention.

I trust that my friends will appreciate the necessity which compels me to act without consulting them. I would cheerfully make any personal sacrifice for their sakes or for the good of my country, but I have nothing to ask for myself. I yielded with sincere reluctance to their entreaties to suffer my name to remain before the public as a possible candidate. I knew that it placed me in a false position. I foresaw that it would subject me to the base imputation of seeking a nomination, and of using the patronage of the Government to obtain it, and then to the mortifying taunts from the same malignant source of having been defeated. But conscious of my own integrity, I cheerfully consented to encounter all this, rather than that my friends should feel that I was indifferent, either to them or the cause, and I am

most happy to avail myself of this occasion to return my sincere thanks, and to express the grateful emotions of my heart, to those friends of the country who have so generously and so nobly stood by the Constitution and the Union, during the perilous scenes through which we have just passed. My sincere prayer is, that their country may cherish and reward them according to their merits.

I hope and trust that my withdrawal may enable the Convention to unite harmoniously upon some more deserving candidate; one who, if elected, may be more successful in winning and retaining the confidence of the party to which he is attached, than I have been. Divided as we were upon my accession to the Presidency, on questions of vital importance, it was impossible for me to pursue a course which would satisfy all. I have not attempted it. I have sought more anxiously to do what was right than what would please; and I shall feel no disappointment at finding that my conduct has, in the estimation of a majority of the Convention, rendered me an unavailable candidate. But it should at all times be a subject of felicitation to any man that he has been enabled to serve his country by sacrificing himself. This is a consequence which neither he nor his friends have any cause to regret; and I hope mine will view it in that light.

For myself, permit me to add, I have no further aspirations. I feel that I have enjoyed much more of public honors than I deserved, and I shall soon retire from this exalted station with infinitely more satisfaction than I entered upon it, and with a heart grateful for the confidence which my countrymen have reposed in me—grateful for the indulgence with which they have received my humble efforts to serve them, and anxious only that they may be better served by my successor, and that our glorious Union and free institutions may be perpetual.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your fellow-citizen, and ob't serv't,

MILLARD FILLMORE

The above letter was presented to the convention through the Hon. George R. Babcock, to whom the following personal letter was sent by Mr. Fillmore:

TO HON. GEORGE R. BABCOCK.

WASHINGTON CITY, June 12, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR: To you as a personal and political friend, representing my old Congressional District, which has never deserted or betrayed me, I desire now to make a last request, and that is, that you present to the presiding officer of the Convention for nominating candidates for President and Vice President, whenever you may deem it proper, the enclosed letter, withdrawing my name from the consideration of that Convention.

In determining what is a proper time to comply with this request, you will consider only the cause in which we are engaged, and the reasonable claim which my friends may have to the use of my name for its advancement. While I am willing to submit to any sacrifice for them or for the cause, I wish it distinctly understood that I ask nothing for myself, and you will therefore decide this question wholly regardless of any real or supposed wish of mine.

That my friends, to whose solicitations I have yielded in this matter, may not be prejudiced by my withdrawal, I have not thought it proper to disclose this intended act to any person but yourself, lest it might be said that in so doing I had not acted in good faith to those who have thought my name essential to the success of the Whig cause. You will therefore perceive that the responsibility is with you, and with you alone, to keep the whole a profound secret until the proper time shall arrive to present my letter to the Convention; and of this, with full confidence in your prudence and wisdom, I constitute you the sole judge.

On the one hand, you will be careful to guard against any premature act or disclosure, which might embarrass my friends and give them just cause of complaint, while on the other you will not suffer my name to be dragged into a contest for a nomination which I have never sought, do not now seek, and would not take if tendered, but in discharge of an implied obligation, which every man assumes upon

uniting with a political party, which is, to yield to the will of a majority of those with whom he acts.

I have the honor to be,

Your friend and ob't serv't,

MILLARD FILLMORE

[*To Hon.* GEORGE R. BABCOCK,
Delegate to the National Whig Convention from the Buffalo District, N. Y.]

PRESIDENT FILLMORE AND GENERAL SCOTT.

The following extract from a letter by President Fillmore to a friend whose identity is not known appeared in the Philadelphia *American* soon after the Whig National convention of 1852. It was published by way of contradicting the report that the President was desirous of defeating Gen. Scott's election:

[*Extract.*]

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1852.

I was not disappointed, nor had I anything to regret, in the result of the Baltimore Convention. The approbation which that Convention expressed of the policy which I had pursued, in the resolutions which it adopted, was more gratifying to me than to have received the nomination. . . .

I cannot doubt that Gen. Scott intends to carry out the principles of the Whig party in good faith, if elected, and it seems to me that he is justly entitled to the support of every true Whig. I am, therefore, gratified to learn from your letter that you intend to give him a cordial and hearty support.

TO FRIENDS IN KENTUCKY.

The following letter was written in reply to one from a number of gentlemen in the vicinity of Lexington, Ky., testifying the high regard they entertained for Mr. Fillmore's

personal and political character; their entire approbation of his whole course of official service since he had been called to the Presidency, and assuring him that the result of the action of the convention had not in the slightest degree impaired their confidence in him, or their interest in his success:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 25th June, came to hand on the 20th ult., and I avail myself of the first leisure moment to express to you my grateful acknowledgments for the unexpected, and, I fear, undeserved honor which you have done me.

Were I a prominent candidate for the place which I now occupy, or were I just entering upon the discharge of its high and responsible duties, with power to distribute favors, I might suspect the motive that dictated so flattering an estimate of my merits. But your letter is addressed to one who is about to retire from the political world—whose sands are so nearly run that he has neither honors nor emoluments to bestow. Under such circumstances, however I may distrust my own deserts, I am not at liberty to doubt the sincerity of your motives.

When, therefore, I recognize, as I do, among your signatures some old and endeared friends and many distinguished names which Kentucky has long delighted to honor, I cannot suppress the grateful emotions of my heart at receiving such a flattering testimonial from so distinguished and disinterested a source. While I cannot feel that I deserve all the encomiums which you have been pleased to bestow upon my efforts to save the country, yet I can truly say that I have, regardless of all consequences to myself, endeavored to promote its best interests, and advance its true glory, by sustaining its Constitution in all its parts, and by impartially executing all laws passed in pursuance of it; by recommending only such measures as I thought would promote the general welfare; by selecting honest and capable men for office; by dealing justly with all nations, and "forming

entangling alliances with none"; exacting nothing from the weak which was not clearly our due, and yielding nothing to the strong which they had not a right to claim; and I need hardly add that I cannot feel otherwise then highly gratified to learn, from so intelligent a portion of my fellow citizens, that, in their opinion, these efforts to serve my country have not been altogether in vain.

But, gentlemen, this free will offering of yours has an additional value in my estimation from its locality. It is from the friends and neighbors of the lamented Clay, whose tomb is bedewed with a nation's tears. Such a tribute from such a source, could not fail to stir the deepest emotions of the heart, and bring with it a thousand tender recollections of the illustrious dead. He was my friend. He was the friend of his country. His ashes now rest in your midst, but his fame fills the earth. I confess that I appreciate your communication the more highly because it comes from men who have long been his daily companions, listening to his soul-stirring eloquence, and imbibing his noble sentiments of patriotism.

Next in my estimation to the approval of my own conscience, is the enlightened approbation of those whom I have endeavored to serve, and I shall cherish this distinguished mark of your confidence and esteem, to my latest breath. It shall add renewed zeal to my efforts for the brief remainder of my term, and cheer my hours of solitude when I retire to the shades of private life.

I have the honor to be your friend and fellow-citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs. GEORGE ROBERTSON, J. O. HARRISON,
W. G. GOODLEE, M. C. JOHNSON,
GARRETT DAVIS, T. A. MARSHALL,
P. S. BUTLER, *and others.*

"THE BEST LIKENESS EVER TAKEN OF ME."

WASHINGTON, Oct. 15th, 1852.

Hon. D. A. BOKER, *New York.*

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. F. B. Carpenter, to whom you gave a letter of introduction for the purpose of obtaining my portrait, has finished the picture and returned to New York. It gives me great pleasure to inform you, that all who have seen it pronounce it an *excellent* likeness. I do not conceive that any man is a good judge of a portrait of himself, but nevertheless, so far as I am competent to express an opinion, I feel bound to say that it is *the best likeness which has ever been taken of me.* He will doubtless have applications to copy it, as two or three have already spoken to me on that subject, and it will be an equal relief to me, and a benefit to the artist, if they can obtain satisfactory likenesses in that way. I shall be highly gratified to learn that Mr. Carpenter is hereafter appreciated according to his merits. He is certainly an artist who bids fair to take the first rank, if he has not already attained it, as a portrait painter in this country.

I am

Truly Yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mr. H. L. Ehrich, The Ehrich Galleries, New York. The portrait referred to is reproduced as frontispiece, I. Fillmore.

REFUSING AN APPLICATION.

[WASHINGTON] Nov. 1, '52.

SECY. OF NAVY,

MY DR. SIR: I herewith return the application of Saml. B. Elliott to be restored as a midshipman. The perusal of the papers has left a strong suspicion upon my mind that he resigned to avoid an unpleasant duty. He says it was in consequence of the illness of his family, but the proof of this is quite too vague to be satisfactory, and Mr. Chandler and

the petitions from Philadelphia all state that he resigned to go into business.

The application is refused.

MILLARD FILLMORE

[*Hon.* WM. A. GRAHAM]

Original MS. owned by Buffalo Historical Society.

TO THURLOW WEED.

(Private.)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12, 1852.

THURLOW WEED, *Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR: In the leading editorial of the *Journal* of the 9th inst. it is said

"The Southern States all sent delegates to the National convention in favor of Mr. Fillmore, who, while Vice President, as the Honorable D. D. Barnard says, would have given his casting vote against the Compromise Bill."

Will you permit me to inquire on what authority this alleged statement of Mr. Barnard is made?

I am Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mrs. Emily Weed Hollister, Rochester, N. Y.

Daniel D. Barnard was a lawyer of Rochester, N. Y., who served in the State Legislature and in Congress. President Fillmore appointed him minister to Prussia.

GEORGE LAW'S CUBAN IMBROGLIO.

(Private.)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12, 1852.

Hon. HUGH MAXWELL, *New York City.*

Your note of yesterday came to hand this morning, in which you state a conversation you had with Mr. George Law, from which you learned that the "Crescent City will go to Cuba and enter the port of Havana in defiance of the

Spanish authority; and if fired upon, she will be surrendered, and that then he and others will immediately commence hostilities against the island." You say also that "he desires to know whether he is right in persisting in the pursuit of his lawful business, and that if the Government shall tell him he must not go, he will not go. If, however, the Government say nothing against his going, he will infer he has a right to go." You say also that "he professes to be friendly to me and my Administration." Of the sincerity of this latter profession one can best judge by reading his letter of the 9th, published in the N. Y. *Herald* of the 10th inst.

But in regard to the chief matters of your letter, permit me to say that, in the first place, I do not admit the right of Mr. Law, or any other citizen, to threaten a war on his own account, for the purpose of seeking redress for real or imaginary injuries, and then to call upon the Government to say whether it approves or disapproves of such conduct, and assume its approbation unless the act is forbidden. The Constitution of the United States has vested in Congress alone the power of declaring war, and neither the Executive branch of the Government nor Mr. Law, has any right to usurp that power by commencing a war without its authority; and if he shall attempt it, it will be my duty, as it is my determination, to exert all the power confided to the Executive Government by the Constitution and laws to prevent it. I am resolved, at every hazard, to maintain our rights in this controversy as against Spain, and I am equally resolved that no act of our citizens shall be permitted to place this Government in the wrong. Mr. Law has undoubted right to pursue his lawful business; but when a question is raised between this Government and a foreign nation as to whether the business which he pursues is lawful or pursued in a lawful manner, the decision of that question belongs to those Governments and not to him. If the object be to assert his right to enter the port of Havana with such persons as he may choose to select, in defiance of the laws and Government of Spain, he has certainly done enough to present that question for the decision of the Government of

Spain and the United States; and the negotiation has already commenced, and our rights as we understand them have been asserted, and as I said before, will be maintained; but the act of the Government cannot be controlled by the interference of any individual; and it is entirely unnecessary that Mr. Law should repeat those attempts for the purpose of settling this controversy, and if he wilfully does so, and in so doing violates the laws of a foreign nation within its own jurisdiction, and thereby loses or forfeits his vessel, he can expect no indemnity for such an act of folly from this Government. We regulate the terms and conditions upon which all foreign vessels shall enter our ports, and we fix the penalties for violation of our laws, and the right to do so we shall never suffer to be questioned by foreigners, and we do not question theirs to do the same thing. He must wait the result of the negotiations between the two Governments. This is a question not to be settled between him and Cuba, nor even between the United States and Cuba, but between the United States and Spain, which alone is responsible for the conduct of the Governor of Cuba.

I write in some haste, as the mail is closing; but you are at liberty to make known the contents of this letter to Mr. Law, and to inform him, that as a good citizen, I presume he will not attempt any violation of our neutrality laws by attacking Cuba.

I remain, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

See President Fillmore's letter to the Secretary of the Navy, May 17, 1852. (I. Fillmore, p. 363.) Hugh Maxwell was Collector at New York. George Law's Cuban projects are narrated in many histories. The Spanish authorities at Havana issued an order forbidding any ship to enter that port having on board a certain person, serving as purser on one of Law's steamships, on the ground—as alleged—that he had supplied correspondence to the New York *Herald* inimical to the Spanish government in Cuba. Law appealed to Washington, and was advised by the Administration to dismiss the objectionable employe. To this Law retorted that if the Government could not protect its own citizens in their rights, that fact should be made known. The captain-general of Cuba threatened to sink one of Law's ships, the Crescent City, if she passed the Morro castle with the obnoxious purser on board. However, he was retained, the vessel continued her trips, and the bellicose order was withdrawn. Law was an ardent American, was regarded as a possible candidate for the Presidency in 1856, and his name was presented in the convention of the American party which nominated Mr. Fillmore. He died in New York City Nov. 18, 1881.

"JUSTICE TO A POLITICAL OPPONENT."

WASHINGTON, January 22d, 1853.

GILBERT DAVIS, *Esq., New York, N. Y.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your note of yesterday came to hand this morning, and I hasten to do justice to a political opponent who is now in his grave. You say that it was stated in your presence that President Polk was heartless and cold, and that one of his coldest acts was that he vacated the White House several days before the President-elect came to Washington for fear of opening his heart so far as to ask him to his house and table. It is due to Mr. Polk to say that I know this to be untrue. Genl. Taylor and myself were both invited to dine with him, and did dine with him before he left the White House, and I have no doubt all the civilities ordinarily extended to the incoming administration were extended by President Polk to General Taylor and according to my recollection he did not leave the White House till the 4th or rather the 5th of March, which was Monday. The confusion incident to the closing of a session of Congress and the breaking up of housekeeping by the President's family must necessarily prevent any President from doing more than Mr. Polk did in the case of Genl. Taylor, and if I am rightly informed many of his predecessors did not do as much.

I am

Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Mr. Adrian H. Joline, New York City.
The body of this letter is in the handwriting of a secretary.

ACKNOWLEDGING A GIFT.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1853.

JAMES MCALPINE SOMMERVILLE, *Esq.,*
Washington.

MY DEAR SIR: Your note of yesterday accompanied by some beautiful specimens of moss and a very curious stone

came duly to hand, for which I beg leave to return you my sincere thanks. I have only had time to glance at these objects of curiosity but have laid them aside for future examination.

I am

Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1853.

JAS. MCALPINE SOMMERVILLE, *Esq.*

SIR: Sickness in my family has compelled me to neglect my correspondents and among others, yourself, or I should have acknowledged more promptly the receipt of your note of the 7th inst. accompanied by some additional specimens of Marine Algæ, for which I beg leave now to tender my thanks.

I shall not have time to give them any critical examination until I return home, but I have forwarded them to my residence for future inspection.

Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

TO THE MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1853.

Hon. HIRAM BARTON,
Mayor of the City of Buffalo.

SIR: Your letter of the 21st ult. enclosing resolutions of the Common Council of the city came duly to hand and I have delayed an answer, not because I did not fail to appreciate the compliment which has been paid me, but because it was uncertain whether I should at the close of my administration return directly to Buffalo or go by the way of New Orleans and the Mississippi river.

The flattering manner in which these resolutions speak of my public services, and the cordial terms in which they invite my return to my home in your beautiful and beloved city, could not be otherwise than grateful to my feelings; and for these I beg leave to return to you and to the Common Council through you my warmest thanks. This kind manifestation of feeling on the part of my old friends and neighbors but adds another item to the debt of gratitude which I owe to the citizens of Buffalo and which I can never hope to discharge. But I anticipate the pleasure of soon being with you again with the fond expectation of spending the remainder of my days in the quiet retirement of private life, free from the bitterness which party strife too often engenders, and exempt from the cares and anxieties with which the most successful in political life are necessarily burdened. Many of my friends, however, are doubtless aware that I have long desired to visit the Southern States and the great valley of the Mississippi. I had made my arrangements to do this four years ago this spring, but the prevalence of the cholera prevented. Since then, my official duties would not permit it, and now for the first time do I feel myself in a position to gratify this long cherished desire. Mrs. Fillmore's health, which has been delicate for some time past and which might suffer from a sudden transition from this warm to a colder climate, but which I have reason to hope may be improved by the journey, offers an additional inducement and I have accordingly concluded to return by the way of Charleston, New Orleans, St. Louis and the Lakes, and hope to reach Buffalo about the first of May. This delay, were there no other cause, will doubtless prevent the members of my Cabinet from accepting your invitation to accompany me. But one or more of them intend making the journey with me, and should they do so they will visit your city where I venture to bespeak for them that hospitable reception which their able public service and high character so justly merit and which the citizens of Buffalo know so well how to bestow. But as to myself, it will be most gratifying to my feelings to be received privately

without any public display and be welcomed again to your hospitable firesides as your neighbor and friend. I ask no more.

I write in some haste and after much fatigue for several days incident to the close of the session and the inauguration, and have not time to copy or revise; but am ever,

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* March 9, 1853.

THE JOHN FILLMORE NARRATIVE.

BUFFALO, September 9, 1853.

SIR: There was published in pamphlet form in your city a year or two since, a narrative of the sufferings of John Fillmore while a prisoner with the pirates. I am applied to for a copy and having none, shall be much obliged if you can obtain half a dozen and send me by mail; and I will cheerfully remit their cost.

I am truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Editor of the Gazette, Utica, N. Y.

Original MS. in collections of the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N. Y.

A copy of this Utica edition of the John Fillmore narrative, preserved in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society, contains this unsigned memorandum of some former owner: "This pamphlet was sent me by President Fillmore. Have never seen another copy." The title-page differs somewhat from that of the Aurora edition (I. Fillmore, p. 27), and includes the following: "To which is added a brief biography of Hon. Millard Fillmore, of Buffalo." Under these words in the copy referred to, is written in Mr. Fillmore's handwriting: "Great Grandson of John Fillmore." This edition is a 12mo. pp. 23, with the imprint: "Utica: Printed for Russell Potter. 1851."

TO A YOUNG WOMAN DESIROUS OF TEACHING.

BUFFALO, Febuy 16, 1854

MY DEAR MISS JOHNSON: I owe you an apology for having neglected so long to write you in reference to a school in this city. But this neglect has not been owing to

any forgetfulness on my part of what I had promised or any indifference to your wishes or welfare. The fact is that when I returned from Aurora I found all the city officers had been changed, and I was unacquainted with Mr. Cook who had just entered upon his duties of the Office as Superintendent. I however spoke to Mr. Rice his predecessor on the subject, and he promised to see the Officer and let me know whether you could probably obtain a situation as teacher, but it was some time before I received any information from him, and then found he had only seen the chairman of the Committee and not the Superintendent. I accordingly wrote the Superintendent and have just received his answer which I enclose with Mr. Rice's.

I think you had better make a personal application by addressing a note through the Post Office directly to Mr. Cook the Superintendent enclosing him any recommendations which it may be in your power to procure and requesting him to write you, should a vacancy occur.

I am truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by the Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tenn.

Ephraim Cook, referred to above, was the first superintendent of Buffalo public schools who was elected to that office; prior to 1854 the Common Council had filled the office by appointment. Mr. Cook's predecessor, alluded to by Mr. Fillmore, was Victor M. Rice, appointed 1852.

PREPARING FOR THE SOUTHERN TRIP.

BUFFALO, Feby 26, 1854.
Sunday morning.

MY DEAR SIR: By some unaccountable delay, neither yours of the 20th nor 22d reached me until last evening, and as the time is now very short for any servant to prepare to go with us, and as the German servant to whom you refer is probably the best, I have just sent a telegraph requesting you to engage him if you can and if you can not I will engage one here. If I am compelled to obtain one here I hope to know it by tomorrow, or I fear he can not be ready. I

thought it not safe to engage the colored man in N. Y. referred to by Mr. Davies, as neither of us had [seen] or could see him, and the time is too short now to make the requisite inquiries and obtain satisfactory information by correspondence; and we have no assurance that he could be obtained at any rate. It may save us trouble to take a White man especially if we go to Cuba. Have you a passport? I have obtained one. It may not be indispensable, yet I apprehend it would be convenient.

I hear nothing further from Mr. Granger, and of course we must give him up. It would be delightful if we could have Mr. Irving, but I suppose it is too late now to hope for it, but I know of no gentleman whose company I should prefer.

Regarding it as settled that we shall go by the way of Cincinati, I regret extremely that you can not come this way; but as it is, I will meet you either at Cincinati or Columbus; but I would suggest that we meet at Columbus on Friday evening, as this will enable us to see the Capitol of Ohio, and its legislature which is now in session; and to call on Mr. Corwin on our way to Cincinati who resides at Lebanon, and is confined to his house by an injury received from a fall. If this meets your approbation, please telegraph me *"yes"* and I will consider that point settled. Or if you prefer not to go to Columbus, or to go there at a different time, please say, "Columbus Feby ——" or "Cincinati Feby ——" and I will govern myself accordingly.

Hoping soon to see you, I will not trouble you further with the pen, than merely to add that my children join me in kindest regards to Mrs. Kennedy & yourself.

I am truly & sincerely yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Hon. J. P. KENNEDY,
Baltimore.

Original MS. owned by Mr. J. M. Fox, Philadelphia.

DECLINING A PUBLIC RECEPTION AT BALTIMORE.

BALTIMORE, Sunday, May 14, 1854.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this date, informing me that you were a Joint Committee to welcome Mr. Kennedy and myself, and to tender to us the hospitality of the City of Baltimore, inquiring also when it will be agreeable to receive my friends and fellow-citizens generally.

My unexpected arrival among you has not taken you more by surprise than this mark of respect from your beautiful and flourishing city has me. I cannot regret, however, that I have reached this point in my journey earlier than you anticipated, for I should have felt compelled in pursuance of a previous resolution, to have declined any public honors which your citizens might have been disposed to tender.

My reason for this, I hope, will be duly appreciated by the citizens of Baltimore. My journey was undertaken with the sole view of visiting that portion of my native country which I had long desired to see, but which circumstances, beyond my control, had hitherto prevented. My route has been a long and fatiguing one. The generous hospitalities, which have been so profusely lavished upon me, have added greatly to its interest and delight, without lessening its labors.

To refuse these civilities, when offered by friends whom I have never seen, appeared ungracious, and I therefore yielded to what appeared to be a kind of moral necessity—resolving, however, that as soon as I reached a point where I had visited before, that I would ask permission to decline all further public display. This will explain my motive for now soliciting that favor at your hands. I shall, however, be happy to be presented to such of your citizens as may desire it, any hour to-morrow which you may appoint.

I beg you to excuse this note, as I write in much haste and have not time to copy. With my profound acknowledg-

ments, gentlemen, for the honor you have done me, I remain,

Your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs. THOMAS SWANN, *and others, Committee.*

ELECTED HONORARY MEMBER OF THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BUFFALO, May 25, 1854.

SIR: Your letter of the 8th of March last, was received here during my absence at the South, by which I am informed that I have been elected an Honorary Member of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

I cannot accept this compliment without requesting you to make my grateful acknowledgments to the Society for this mark of its respect, and to assure it that I shall always take a deep interest in its prosperity & success.

Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

LYMAN C. DRAPER, *Esq.*
Cor. Secy, Madison, Wis.

MS. collections, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.

TO A BUFFALO ARTIST.

R. J. COMPTON, *Esq.,*
Buffalo.

[BUFFALO, July —, 1854]

SIR: I delayed answering your note accompanying the lithograph of Dr. G. W. Hosmer, until I could have the picture framed, when I could better judge of its merits. This took a much longer time than I anticipated, but it is now accomplished, and I take great pleasure in saying that I think it an admirable likeness, and that I feel no little pride in knowing that we have an artist in Buffalo capable of executing so elegant a lithograph. I hope and trust that

this is but the commencement of a career of artistic success which will prove equally profitable and praiseworthy.

I am respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

The above note was to Richard J. Compton, of Compton & Gibson, engravers and lithographers of Buffalo.

TO PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE.

SKANEATELES, N. Y., Augt 11, 1854

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of condolence of the 3d inst. has just reached me here. That you should have remembered me in my sorrows amid the anxieties incident to the closing of a long session of Congress shews the deep sympathy of your breast, and can not be otherwise than grateful to my bleeding heart.

That Heaven may prosper you and your administration is the sincere prayer of

Your friend & obt Servt

MILLARD FILLMORE

His Excellency, F. PIERCE,
Washington.

Pierce collection, Library of Congress.

The above was occasioned by the death of Mr. Fillmore's daughter, Mary Abigail, July 26, 1854.

THE EBENEZER COMMUNISTS.

BUFFALO, N. York, December 1, 1854

MY DEAR SIR: The bearer, Mr. John Beyer is a chief man in a religious association of Germans, settled near this city who contemplate removing to some western state. They have heretofore sent an exploring party to Kansas, but I understand they were not satisfied with that country, and as I have formed a very favorable opinion of your state, I have advised them to look at it before they locate; and I know you will take great pleasure in giving them any information in your power.

As a community, they are most excellent citizens, quiet, peaceable, industrious and honest; excellent agriculturalists and carrying on many branches of manufactures with remarkable skill & neatness. I hope they may find a place to suit them in your state.

Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Genl. G. B. SERGEANT,
Davenport, Ia.

Buchanan collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In 1842 there came to Western New York a colony of immigrants from Geisen, Duchy of Hesse Darmstadt, in Germany, numbering about 500 souls. They bought 5000 acres of land on Buffalo Creek a few miles from the city at $10 per acre. Later they added a thousand or more acres to their earlier purchase, and there grew up four little villages, known as the Ebenezer Settlements, all within eight miles of Buffalo. Here they carried on farming and other occupations on a communistic plan. The settlements had increased to some 800 residents when in 1856-57 they sold out and removed to Iowa. Their original land purchase on Buffalo Creek was from the Ogden Company, which had acquired title subsequent to the treaty of 1842. The Indians objected to these German neighbors on their old lands, but soon themselves removed from the Buffalo Creek Reservation, and left the communists at peace. There are preserved in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society a number of exceedingly interesting letters written by the Germans to the Senecas, maintaining the rights and title of the former to their Buffalo Creek lands.

INTRODUCING FRIENDS TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER IN LONDON.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Dec. 29, 1854

Hon. JAMES BUCHANAN,
London.

DR SIR: Understanding that Dr. Le Vert of Mobile and his charming wife and daughter are about to make the tour of Europe, I venture to do for them, what I seldom do for anyone, and that is to give them a letter of introduction to our Minister in London.

My acquaintance with the Doctor is but slight, but I understand he is a gentleman of wealth and high professional attainments and universally esteemed in his own city. His lady, you may recollect as the charming Miss Walton of

Florida, who spent some time at Washington, and fascinated all young gentlemen and batchellors [*sic*] like yourself, with her beauty and conversational talents. You will find her still the same delightful companion and warm hearted, sympathising friend. Her daughter though quite young is beautiful, sensible, and accomplished, and I venture to bespeak for them all a tender of those civilities which you can so gracefully bestow and which, I know, they will so gratefully receive.

I have the honor to be
Your obt servt
MILLARD FILLMORE

Buchanan collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

LAMENTS THE STRIFE FOR THE "FOREIGN VOTE."

BUFFALO, New York, Jan. 3, 1855

RESPECTED FRIEND ISAAC NEWTON:

It would give me great pleasure to accept your kind invitation to visit Philadelphia, if it were possible to make my visit private, and limit it to a few personal friends whom I should be most happy to see. But I know that this would be out of my power; and I am therefore reluctantly compelled to decline your invitation, as I have done others to New York and Boston for the same reason.

I return you many thanks for your information on the subject of politics. I am always happy to hear what is going forward; but independently of the fact that I feel myself withdrawn from the political arena, I have been too much depressed in spirit to take an active part in the late elections. I contented myself with giving a silent vote for Mr. Ullman for Governor.

While, however, I am an inactive observer of public events, I am by no means an indifferent one; and I may say to you, in the frankness of private friendship, I have for a long time looked with dread and apprehension at the corrupting influence which the contest for the foreign vote

is exciting upon our elections. This seems to result from its being banded together, and subject to the control of a few interested and selfish leaders. Hence, it has been a subject of bargain and sale, and each of the great political parties of the country have been bidding to obtain it; and, as usual in all such contests, the party which is most corrupt is most successful. The consequence is, that it is fast demoralizing the whole country; corrupting the ballot-box —that great palladium of our liberty—into an unmeaning mockery, where the rights of native-born citizens are voted away by those who blindly follow their mercenary and selfish leaders. The evidence of this is found not merely in the shameless chaffering of the foreign vote at every election, but in the large disproportion of offices which are now held by foreigners, at home and abroad, as compared with our native citizens. Where is the true-hearted American whose cheek does not tingle with shame and mortification, to see our highest and most coveted foreign missions filled by men of foreign birth, to the exclusion of the native-born? Such appointments are a humiliating confession to the crowned heads of Europe, that a Republican soil does not produce sufficient talent to represent a Republican nation at a monarchial court. I confess that it seems to me, with all due respect to others, that, as a general rule, our country should be governed by American-born citizens. Let us give to the oppressed of every country an asylum and a home in our happy land; give to all the benefits of equal laws and equal protection; but let us at the same time cherish as the apple of our eye the great principles of constitutional liberty, which few who have not had the good fortune to be reared in a free country know how to appreciate, and still less how to preserve.

Washington, in that inestimable legacy which he left to his country—his Farewell Address—has wisely warned us to beware of foreign influence as the most baneful foe of a republican government. He saw it, to be sure, in a different light from that in which it now presents itself; but he knew that it would approach in all forms, and hence he cautioned us against the insidious wiles of its influence. Therefore,

as well for our own sakes, to whom this invaluable inheritance of self-government has been left by our forefathers, as for the sake of the unborn millions who are to inherit this land—foreign and native—let us take warning of the Father of his Country, and do what we can to preserve our institutions from corruption, and our country from dishonor; and let this be done by the people themselves in their sovereign capacity, by making a proper discrimination in the selection of officers, and not by depriving any individual, native or foreign-born, of any constitutional or legal right to which he is now entitled.

These are my sentiments in brief; and although I have sometimes almost despaired of my country, when I have witnessed the rapid strides of corruption, yet I think I perceive a gleam of hope in the future, and I now feel confident that, when the great mass of intelligence in this enlightened country is once fully aroused, and the danger manifested, it will fearlessly apply the remedy, and bring back the Government to the pure days of Washington's administration.

Finally, let us adopt the old Roman motto, "Never despair of the republic." Let us do our duty, and trust in that Providence which has so signally watched over and preserved us, for the result. But I have said more than I intended, and much more than I should have said to any one but a trusted friend, as I have no desire to mingle in political strife. Remember me kindly to your family, and, believe me,

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Printed, "Biography of Millard Fillmore" (by Ivory Chamberlain), Buffalo, 1856.

Mr. Fillmore's vote for Daniel Ullman for governor indicates his Know-nothing preferences; but Ullman ran behind both Myron H. Clark (Whig) and Horatio Seymour (Dem.), the official count making Clark governor by the narrow margin of 309 votes.

FACTS OF HIS EARLY CAREER.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Jany 4th, 1855.

SIR: I have your letter of the 1st inst. and in reply to your enquiries would state that I was born in Locke (now

Summerhill), Cayuga County, New York, January 7th, 1800; commenced the study of law with Walter Wood in Montville in the same county in 1819, and continued my studies in Buffalo, where I was admitted to practice in 1823. I was elected a member of assembly of this State in the fall of 1828, and took my seat on the 1st Tuesday of January 1829, which I held by reëlection in 1830 and 1831. I was elected a member of the House of Representatives in the fall of 1832, and took my seat in Congress on the 1st Monday of Dec. 1833, and was not a candidate for re-election in 1834, but was reëlected in 1836, 1838 and 1840, & served till the 3d of March 1843, when I peremptorily declined a reëlection. I am not a graduate of any college; and to my regret have no other education than such as I was able to obtain at our common schools, then quite inferior to what they now are; and these I was only able to attend, after I was ten or twelve years of age, during the winter, and the summer was spent in labor upon the farm, and afterwards at the business of carding and cloth dressing until the age of nineteen. The want of early advantages has compelled me to labor the harder since to supply the deficiency.

In compliance with your request I have frankly stated these facts connected with my early history, and as no man is responsible for the circumstances of his birth, they furnish nothing of which he should be ashamed or proud, and therefore while they require no apology they can justify no boasting. I need hardly add that this letter is not intended for publication. I am truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

L. J. CIST, *Esq., Cincinnati.*

Original MS. in collection of the late R. B. Adam, Buffalo.

TO SENATOR BROOKS, ON AN EPISODE WITH WEED.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Saturday, Feb. 10, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 9th inst., in which you inquire "whether I was privy to and advised any resolutions

drawn by Mr. Weed or others, to be acted upon at the Albany meeting in August, 1848 (26th) to defeat General Taylor"; to which I beg leave to reply, that I neither drew, or advised the drawing, of any such resolutions; that on entering Mr. Weed's printing-office just at dusk, I found him engaged in drawing such resolutions for the meeting which had been called. He read them, which was the first knowledge I had of them, and I protested against them and the meeting, and on my remonstrance, as I understood, Mr. Weed consented not to present them, but to have the meeting postponed. These are the facts, but in my retirement, I would chose to avoid all notoriety; and especially such as arises from political controversy; nevertheless, if it be essential to the truth of history that you should make known the contents of the letter, you are at liberty to do so.

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. ERASTUS BROOKS,
Senate Chamber, Albany.

Printed, Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 21, 1855.

A EUROPEAN TOUR—POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

BUFFALO, March 10, 1855

[*To* HUGH MAXWELL]

MY DEAR SIR: I owe you many thanks for your kind, frank, and I may add, flattering letter of the 21st ult. I regret exceedingly that you did not visit me as you had intended. Should I remain at home, I hope to see you the ensuing summer. But I have reflected much on what you say of my taking a journey to Europe, and have delayed answering until I could consult some friends who were absent from the city.

My Daughter had been extremely anxious to go, and I had consented to accompany her—more for her sake than my own—but her sudden and premature death prevented, and for a time, took away all desire. Even the thought of it became painful, as it appeared to me that every object of

interest which I should see in my journey would remind me of her, and instead of being a source of pleasure, would become positively painful because she could not be there to enjoy it with me. So I had relinquished all idea of making that tour this year, if I ever did.

I notice, however, what you say of the desire of my enemies to draw my name into the seething cauldron of politics. That you are right in this I cannot doubt, and that they would have less inducement to do it, if I were absent, seems very probable. Yet I have a spice of obstinacy that makes me unwilling to act from any apprehension of that kind. I think I may safely defy their machinations. I will not say with Brutus, that "I am armed so strong in honesty that their threats pass by me like the idle wind"; but I will say that, though they have pursued me with unremitted rancor and envious malice for years, yet they have seldom disturbed the equanimity of my temper, however they may have impaired my reputation.

You seem to think that something said by Mr. Dickenson requires a response from me. This may be so, but I really know not what it is, as I have not read a speech of his during the session. My attention was called to some letters from Messrs. Weed, Clows & others that were said to conflict with a statement made by me to Mr. Brooks in answer to an inquiry of his about the famous Taylor meeting in Albany in 1848, and some thought that I had better write out the history of the whole transaction; but that looked like entering the lists with these men on a question of veracity. The bare suggestion was revolting and I refused; although I have the most ample materials, in writings made at the time, to verify the truth of my letter; but Mr. Weed's own statement in his own paper at the time of the occurrence is ample to sustain me regardless of what he or those under his influence may now pretend to recollect of a transaction that took place more than six years since. I am determined not to degrade myself by putting my reputation for truth and veracity in conflict with such men. Let Mr. Weed & his compurgators be heard and then let the world judge between us.

Nor will I be driven from my country by their mendacity. If I visit Europe it will be for reasons wholly independent of this, or any thing of a personal character connected with future political events. While I cannot feel otherwise than flattered to hear my name occasionally mentioned in connexion with the highest office in the gift of the people, yet an election could confer no new honors on me; and the vexatious cares and heavy responsibilities of that office might tarnish those which I now wear. Being fully impressed with this, I have no aspirations—every ambitious wish of my heart has been more than gratified, and I am content. But do not misunderstand me. I do not under estimate the honors connected with that exalted station. They are beyond price or comparison; but I have enjoyed them and while my heart is filled with gratitude, my judgment tells me that if I would consult my own happiness or even my future reputation, I should not venture again upon that sea of troubles. I have escaped ship wreck once, though tempest tost for many a weary day and anxious night. Prudence says, tempt not the treacherous element again where the reputations of so many great and good men have been lost! Pardon me, my dear Sir, but would not my illustrious successor give the same advice?

But still I am rather inclined to make the tour of Europe if I can accomplish it. I am chiefly impelled to this by an apprehension that my health may be impaired by changing so suddenly from a very active, to a totally inactive life. I am well now. I spend my time mostly in reading, and very pleasantly—yet neither the body nor the mind has that exercise to which it has been accustomed, and a long-settled habit has become a second nature—and I fear that so torpid a state may cause paralysis of body or stagnation of intellect. I believe with Adam Clark that it is better to wear out than rust out, and as my political life has unfortunately deprived me of my profession, perhaps I can do nothing better than to diversify my pursuits by travelling. Within the past year I have journeyed over the greater part of the United States. I enjoyed these journeys very much, but that source of instruction and amusement is nearly exhausted. I must, there-

fore, if I pursue it further, cross the Atlantic, and compare the old world with the new.

But there are some things of which I wish to know more before I resolve to undertake so long a journey. And as my means are limited, the *first,* and most important is, the probable expense for a year that should carry me S. E. to Constantinople, and N. E. to St. Petersburg. *Next,* would my position be such in my intercourse with the titled dignitaries of Europe, as to subject my country to any indignity through me in our social intercourse; and if this be so, could it be avoided by refusing all invitations to festive entertainments; or would it be possible, or if possible, would it be advisable, to travel incog.? You will understand that while I have no personal pride for any social distinction in Europe, I would not knowingly place myself in a position where my country would be degraded or insulted through me. And *lastly,* what servants should I want, and where would it be best to provide them; and when should I leave N. York?

Your recent tour will enable you to give me valuable advice on all these subjects; and in the mean time please to keep the matter a profound secret.

Truly your friend

MILLARD FILLMORE

HUGH MAXWELL, *Esq., N. Y.*

Original MS. owned by Miss Hilda Millet, Boston, Mass.

IMPRESSIONS OF EUROPE.

HOTEL DE LONDRES, ROME, Italy,
Tuesday, January 22nd, 1856.

[*To* SOLOMON G. HAVEN]

DEAR HAVEN: Your very welcome favor of December 6th reached me here on the 31st and I have delayed writing partly because I was too busy by day, and could not tax my eyes by night, and partly in the hope that I might be able to congratulate you and the country at least upon the election of Speaker, if not upon your own elevation to that highly

honorable and at this moment peculiarly responsible position. But we were all surprised this morning by reading in *Galignani* that the President had sent his annual message to Congress, without the House being organized. This certainly looks as though the government was about to fall to pieces, as though anarchy and discord reigned between the different departments. While I regret exceedingly that you have not been able to elect a Speaker, I cannot but approve of the independence of the House in refusing to permit such an untimely communication to be read. We know nothing here of the circumstances as the American papers have not come to hand, and I fear will not—as they are detained in the Postoffice for examination—before I leave for Naples on Thursday morning. But all I can say is, stand by the country and the constitution. Preserve the Union regardless of the mad denunciations of fanatics, or the reckless cry of Demagogues, and you will be sure to have the approval of your own conscience now and eventually the approbation of all honest and intelligent men. And no true statesman should seek for more.

But pardon me for saying so much in a way that seems like giving advice, which is neither needed nor intended, but rather thinking aloud of what I would do—and I know you will—were I in your situation. We get but imperfect information from the papers and your letter contained the only reliable intelligence which I have received from Home in a long time. I hope you will continue to repeat the favor without waiting for my response. I was gratified to hear that Mr. Corcoran had arrived safely at home. I expected a letter from him but have received none. Should you see him or any of his family make my kindest regards to them.

We left Paris Nov. 14th and arrived here on the 29th of Dec. stopping at Lyons, Avignon, Nismes, Arles, Marseilles, Nice, Genoa, Turin, Leghorn, Pisa, Florence & Siena, long enough to see the objects of interest in each place, and performing the journey without accident or any material discomfort. We have now been here long enough to have become somewhat familiar with the topography of Rome,

ancient and modern, and have seen the lions of the Eternal City or, at least, as many of them as I shall be able to remember. We did think of staying for the carnival, but understanding that it has greatly degenerated, we have concluded to content ourselves with Dickens' humorous and graphic description of it, and go on to Naples. In fact we can not spare the time. Messrs. Foote and Jewett have concluded to go to Egypt as far as Cairo, then to Jerusalem, Constantinople and return to Trieste, & if I think my eyes will endure it, after seeing Naples, I shall accompany them. In that event, I cannot hope to hear from home again for two months to come, as I shall probably touch Europe first at Venice or Trieste.

I have made few personal acquaintances here except with Americans.

I cannot attempt to describe the things which I have seen here or elsewhere. All that you will obtain from Murray's Hand books or Hillards Six Months in Italy better than I can give you. But I may remark that I am astonished at the number of Americans travelling in Europe. They swarm in every city. The English language is heard in every town, and less frequently from the English themselves than from their trans-Atlantic cousins. The climate here is mild and were it not for the incessant rains would be pleasant. Vegetation is as green as with us in May, and the temperature is about like ours in September or early October.

As in duty bound, I was presented to his Holiness the Pope. He granted me a private audience, but the day before I was to be presented I was told that the etiquette of the Court required all who were presented to kneel and kiss the hand of the Pope, if not his foot. This took me by surprise and when Mr. Cass called to accompany me to the Vatican, I informed him of what I had heard, and said if this was the case, I must decline the honor of a presentation. That I could only consent to be presented to the Pope as the sovreign of the State, not as High Priest of a religious sect or denomination. He assured me that I had been misinformed and I consented to accompany him. I was accordingly presented.

His Holiness received me sitting, but very graciously, neither offering hand or foot for salutation, and to my surprise, asked me to take a seat, and entered very freely and familiarly into conversation for some ten or fifteen minutes. He has a very benevolent face, and I doubt not is a very good man. From all I can learn here, he was really desirous of benefiting those whom he governs, and especially in ameliorating the condition of the common people. But the system which he administers is so bad, and is entrenched so strongly in the political and ecclesiastical despotism of ages, and he is so hedged in by a numerous and selfish priesthood, that he found it impossible. The madness and folly of political demagogues, who without any knowledge of a republican government seized upon the reins of power and committed many excesses, disgusted all well meaning, sensible men, and has thrown back all hope of reform here for many years to come. I was also introduced to Cardinal Antonelli, the minister of foreign affairs. He appears to me like a very intelligent active energetic man and I believe is the chief person in the administration. Some say that he is ambitious but of that I know nothing. Upon the whole I have no cause to complain of the treatment which I have received from the government officials any where in Europe. That they should not like our government, is neither strange nor unnatural, and as long as they do not require me to like theirs I am content. I must say, however, in all candor, that these people seem wholly unfit for a republican form of government. If they can ever reach that, it must be by slow degrees through a constitutional monarchy. But enough—we will talk the rest when I return.

Presuming that Mrs. Haven is with you I beg you to remember me to her most kindly, and believe me when I say

I am truly your friend

MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by Miss Ida Haven, Buffalo, N. Y.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT BY THE AMERICAN PARTY.

PARIS, May 21, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me that the National Convention of the American party, which had just closed its session at Philadelphia, had unanimously presented my name for the Presidency of the United States, and associated with it that of Andrew Jackson Donelson for the Vice Presidency. This unexpected communication met me at Venice, on my return from Italy, and the duplicate mailed thirteen days later, was received on my arrival in this city last evening.

This must account for my apparent neglect in giving a more prompt reply.

You will pardon me for saying, that, when my administration closed in 1853, I considered my political life as a public man at an end, and thenceforth I was only anxious to discharge my duty as a private citizen. Hence I have taken no active part in politics; but I have by no means been an indifferent spectator of passing events, nor have I hesitated to express my opinion on all political subjects when asked, nor to give my vote and private influence for those men and measures I thought best calculated to promote the prosperity and glory of our common country. Beyond this, I have deemed it improper for me to interfere.

But this unsolicited and unexpected nomination has imposed upon me a new duty, from which I cannot shrink; and therefore, approving as I do, the general objects of the party which has honored me with its confidence, I cheerfully accept its nomination, without waiting to inquire of its prospects of success or defeat. It is sufficient for me to know that by so doing I yield to the wishes of a large portion of my fellow-citizens in every part of the Union, who, like myself, are sincerely anxious to see the administration of our government restored to that original simplicity and purity which marked the first years of its existence, and, if possible, to quiet that alarming sectional agitation, which,

while it delights the monarchists of Europe, causes every true friend of our country to mourn.

Having the experience of past service in the administration of the Government, I may be permitted to refer to that as the exponent of the future, and to say, should the choice of the Convention be sanctioned by the people, I shall, with the same scrupulous regard for the rights of every section of the Union which then influenced my conduct, endeavor to perform every duty confided by the Constitution and laws to the Executive.

As the proceedings of the Convention have marked a new era in the history of the country, by bringing a new political organization into the approaching presidential canvass, I take occasion to reaffirm my full confidence in the patriotic purpose of that organization, which I regard as springing out of the public necessity forced upon the country to a large extent by unfortunate sectional divisions, and the dangerous tendency of those divisions towards disunion.

It alone, in my opinion, of all the political agencies now existing, is possessed of the power to silence this violent and disastrous agitation, and restore harmony by its own example of moderation and forbearance. It has a claim, therefore, in my judgment, upon every earnest friend of the integrity of the Union.

So estimating this party, both in its present position and future destiny, I freely adopt its great leading principles, as announced in the recent declaration of the National Council in Philadelphia, a copy of which you were so kind as to enclose to me, holding them to be just and liberal to every true interest of the country, and wisely adapted to the establishment and support of an enlightened, safe, and effective American policy, in full accord with the ideas and the hopes of the fathers of our Republic.

I expect shortly to sail for America, and with the blessing of Divine Providence hope soon to tread my native soil. My opportunity of comparing my own country and the condition of the people with those of Europe has only served to increase my admiration and love of our blessed land of

liberty, and I shall return to it without even a desire ever to cross the Atlantic again.

I beg of you, gentlemen, to accept my thanks for the very flattering manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the result of the action of that enlightened and patriotic body of men who composed the late convention, and to be assured, that I am, with profound respect and esteem, your friend and fellow-citizen.

MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs. ALEXANDER H. H. STUART, ANDREW STEWART, ERASTUS BROOKS, E. B. BARTLETT, WM. J. EAMES, EPHRIAM MARSH, *Committee.*

ON A GIFT OF A CANE FROM HENRY CLAY'S HOME.

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 4th, 1856.

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your friendly note of the 30th ult., together with the beautiful cane accompanying it, made from one of the joists which supported the floor of the library of the late lamented Henry Clay.

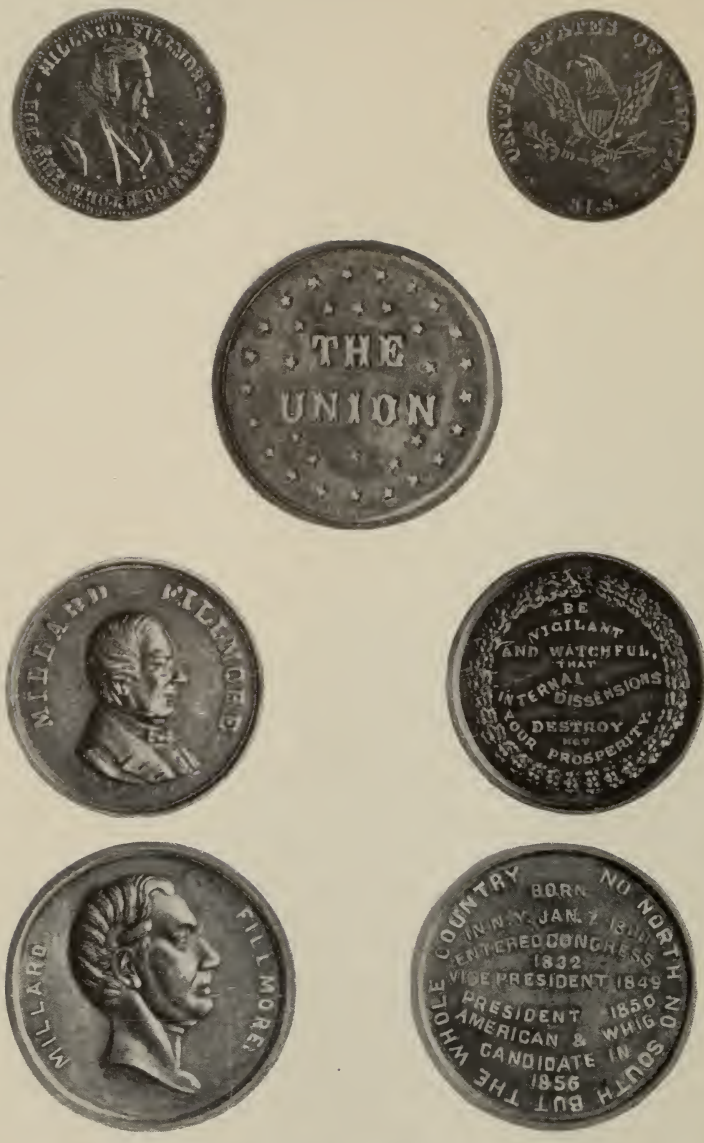
I accept this token of your friendship and respect with grateful emotions, and shall value it not merely or mainly for its costly and elegant workmanship, but chiefly for the motives which prompted the donation, and the reminiscences awakened by the association. I shall never look upon this cane without being reminded of Ashland and its noble possessor. Though dead, he still lives, and his voice, speaking from his consecrated grave, calls upon his countrymen to stand by the Union and maintain the Constitution.

He was my friend, and I shall be most happy if my conduct shall prove that I am worthy of his confidence.

With renewed thanks, I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The unknown recipient of the above was a resident of Philadelphia.



FILLMORE TOKENS, CAMPAIGN OF 1856.

From Originals, in Brass, Copper and White Metal, Owned by the Buffalo Historical Society. The Large "Union" Token has the Fillmore Head on the Reverse.

TO THE ORDER OF UNITED AMERICANS.

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 29, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th inst., informing me that at a Convention of the Executive Committees of the several Chapters of the Order of United Americans in this State, convened in the City of New York, on the 21st inst., it was unanimously resolved to adopt my nomination as your candidate for President of the United States, of which you were instructed to give me official notice.

My position before the country is well known, admitting neither of disguise or equivocation. I am the candidate of the American party, but I see nothing inconsistent with that position or dishonorable either to myself or those who may support me, in receiving the votes of those who, knowing my position, prefer to cast them for me; and I feel particularly flattered where it is done, as in your case, on the ground of my past official acts. I therefore accept the nomination so generously tendered by the Order of United Americans, and hope they may never have reason to regret this signal proof of confidence.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The foregoing was widely published during the campaign of 1856.

In their letter notifying Mr. Fillmore of their endorsal of him as a candidate, the committee said:

"The Order of United Americans is the oldest of all the American organizations, and from which, under different names, and with other collateral objects, have organized the various associations of the country devoted to American interests.

"The Order of United Americans, while demanding that the political interests of the country should be controlled by Americans, would secure a steadfast adherence to that feature of our institutions which secures to every man protection in his civil or religious rights; they disclaim all partisan association, maintaining equal hostility to the political demagogues of our own land, and to the influence of those of foreign birth. They hold in sacred reverence the maxims and teaching of Washington against sectional controversies, and adhere with patriotic devotion to the Constitution and the union of the States."

Among the signers of this letter were Simeon Baldwin, Erastus Brooks, and numerous other men of high standing.

TO A GEORGIA CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN PARTY.

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 31, 1856.

H. V. M. MILLER, *Esq.*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th inst., informing me that at a Convention of the American party of the State of Georgia, held in the City of Macon on the 8th and 9th inst., I was unanimously nominated as their candidate for the Presidency of the United States at the ensuing election.

Being already in the field as the candidate of the American party of the Union, I cannot feel otherwise than flattered and honored by the accession of Georgia to her sister States in the support of my nomination. My political sentiments are too well known to need any recapitulation here, and my character and former services are the only pledges which I can offer, that I will, if elected, use my best endeavors so to administer the Government as to restore harmony to the conflicting sections and maintain a cordial union between the States by giving to each and all that protection which the Constitution has guaranteed. If my friends believe that I have sufficient intelligence to know their constitutional rights, and sufficient honesty and moral courage to maintain them, they will be satisfied with this, but if I lack either, no pledge could supply the deficiency or justify them in giving me their support.

I accept the nomination so generously tendered with a grateful appreciation of the honor done me by the Convention, and I beg leave to express to you my thanks for the kind manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the result of their deliberation.

I remain your friend and fellow-citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Printed, Rome (Ga.) *Courier*, Aug., 1856.

TO THE VIRGINIA WHIGS.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Aug. 6, 1856.

WINDHAM ROBERTSON, *Esq.*,

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23d ult., transmitting a copy of the preamble and resolutions adopted by the Whig convention of Virginia, lately assembled at Richmond, by which that intelligent and patriotic body recommend to their Whig brethren throughout the State to yield to my nomination for the Presidency their active and zealous support.

Standing, as I do, as the known candidate of another party, I yet receive this recommendation with gratitude. I feel that it is made, not because the principles of the two parties are identical, nor with a view of merging them in each other—for such an object is expressly disclaimed by the convention—but because the principles which my nomination represents, approach more nearly to those maintained by the Whigs of Virginia than those maintained by any other candidate; and because, as the convention was pleased to say, of their confidence in my late administration of the Government.

Whatever may be our differences on minor subjects, I am sure there is one on which we agree; and that one at the moment is paramount to all others. I allude to the preservation of the union of these States, and the rescuing the country from sectional strife. The question is not so much, How shall the Government be administered, as how shall it be preserved; and on this great, vital question, National Whigs, National Democrats, and Union-loving Americans may well act in concert. On this basis I shall with great pleasure receive the votes of all who have confidence in my integrity and ability, and who ask no other pledge than my past service, for my future conduct. This position seems to me alike honorable to all. No principle is sacrificed. No deception is practiced, and I trust that no one, casting his vote for me on this ground, will ever have cause to regret it.

With many thanks for the flattering manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the result of the convention

I have the honor to be
Your friend and fellow citizen
MILLARD FILLMORE.

The foregoing, first printed in the Richmond (Va.) *Whig*, was sent in reply to a letter containing resolutions adopted by the Virginia Whig convention.

VIEWS ON INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1856.

To B. F. WASHINGTON, *Esq., Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee of California:*

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, in which you inquire whether my sentiments remain the same in reference to internal improvements by the General Government, and specially with reference to a railroad to California, as they were in 1850, when I sent my first annual message to Congress.

In reply to your inquiry, permit me to state that I have invariably refused to pledge myself to any particular course of policy in case of my election to the Presidency. My past life is the only guarantee that I can give for my future conduct. But I have no hesitation in saying that I have seen no cause to change my sentiments on the subjects of your inquiry; and consequently they remain the same as they were when I penned my annual message to Congress in 1850.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

James Buchanan was less non-committal than Mr. Fillmore. In reply to the same inquiries that called forth Mr. Fillmore's letter of Aug. 30th, Mr. Buchanan wrote: "I am decidedly favorable to the construction of the Pacific railroad; and I derive the authority to do this from the constitutional power 'to declare war' and the constitutional duty 'to repel invasions.' In my judgment Congress possesses the same power to make appropriations for the construction of this road, strictly for the purpose of National defence, that it has to erect fortifications at the mouth of the harbor of San Francisco."

TO MEET CAMPAIGN ATTACKS.

(Private)

BUFFALO, Sept. 12, 1856.

Hon. JAS. BROOKS,

MY DEAR SIR: I am sorry to see by the papers that you were ill; but I hope nothing serious as we can not spare you now.

You can not reason with fanaticism, and therefore the best mode of meeting the attacks upon me for signing the Fugitive Slave Act is to show that the Republicans voted to extend the Slave Act over Kansas & Nebraska. I sent you this vote on the 8th under my frank but do not see it published. *What is the objection?* I send another copy.

In haste, Truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mr. Geo. H. Richmond, New York City.

TO J. W. M. BERRIEN, CHARLESTON, S. C.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 29, 1856.

DEAR SIR: Your two favors of the 25th inst., have just come to hand, and furnish additional evidence that I am constantly misrepresented both North and South. In the North I am charged with being a Pro-Slavery man, seeking to extend slavery over free territory, and in the South, I am accused of being an Abolitionist. But I am neither, and as I have invariably refused to give any pledge, other than such as might be inferred from my known character and previous official conduct, I have not answered to the public any of these charges. If after all I have done, and all the sacrifices I have made to maintain the constitutional rights of the South, she still distrusts me, then I can only say that I hope she may find one more just and more fearless and self-sacrificing than I have been, and that, when found, she may show her gratitude by her confidence. And so of the North—if after all I have done to maintain her constitu-

tional rights and advance her interests, she distrusts me, I hope she may find one more worthy of her confidence, and bestow it accordingly. I shall have no regrets for myself in either case. I am only anxious that the country should be well governed, and that this unfortunate sectional controversy between the North and the South should be settled, and a fraternal feeling restored. But I apprehend that the difficulty is, that the extremes on each side want a President favoring their own peculiar views as against their opponents. I cannot consent to be such a candidate for either side. I am for the whole Union, North and South, East and West, and if my countrymen will not accept me on those conditions, I shall not complain.

The enclosed article, copied into the Richmond *Whig* from the Buffalo *Commercial,* speaks my sentiments on the Missouri Compromise. It may or may not suit your latitude; but I have not one thing for the South and another for the North, and therefore I send it.

In conclusion, permit me to express my sincere thanks for the kind interest you have manifested in my success as the candidate of the Union. I remember your lamented brother well, and was proud to call him my friend. I wish his valuable life could have been spared to us in this struggle to save our country.

With sentiments of respect,

I am truly and sincerely yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. S. I write in haste, without time to copy or correct.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE NATIONAL WHIG NOMINATION.

BUFFALO, N. Y., October 1, 1856.

Hon. EDWARD BATES,

SIR: Your letter of the 19th ult. came to hand day before yesterday, informing me that in a general convention of the Whigs of the United States, held at Baltimore on the 17th and 18th of the present month, I was honored by that con-

vention by being chosen with one voice as their candidate for the Presidency.

Whilst some of my old Whig friends, whom I have always highly respected, and whose patriotism I am unwilling to doubt, are opposed to my election, and are engaged, some on the one side and some on the other, of political parties which are sowing the seeds of alienation and distrust between different sections of our common country, and waging a sectional warfare tending to weaken, if not destroy the Union of these States, it is a source of inexpressible gratification to me to receive the unanimous nomination of the great representative body of the National Whigs of the United States—no less distinguished for their intelligence than for their patriotism—and I cheerfully accept it with the profoundest emotions of gratitude and pride.

Although I am the known candidate of another party, yet I can see nothing dishonorable in receiving the support of all Union-loving men, by whatever political denomination they may be known; but I confess that I receive this flattering testimonial of the continued confidence in my personal integrity and patriotism of my old Whig friends, with much more than ordinary satisfaction; and I trust that, if elected, I shall do nothing to disappoint the hopes or dishonor the preference of those who have so generously bestowed their confidence.

With renewed expressions of my high respect for yourself, personally, and my veneration for the intelligent and patriotic body over which you presided, I am, sir,

Your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

[*To* EDWARD BATES, *St. Louis, Mo.*]

AFTER HIS DEFEAT BY JAMES BUCHANAN.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Nov. 24, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by the receipt of your flattering letter of the 7th giving the only consolation which a

defeated candidate can expect, or even desire, in the assurance that though beaten, he has not lost the confidence and esteem of his friends.

Personally, I have nothing to regret in the result. The little mortification I might feel at being so unanimously rejected by my countrymen, is more than counterbalanced by the assurance that there are at least two men more deserving of the confidence of the people than myself. I envy not my successful rivals; but sincerely hope that the one on whom the people have conferred the highest honors of the Republic, may so discharge the responsible duties of his exalted station as to restore peace and harmony to the conflicting sections, and maintain the honor and glory of the nation. If this be done, I can cheerfully forgive all my enemies for the falsehoods which they have published against me, by misrepresenting my sentiments, both North and South.

I have marked this letter private, because I do not wish to appear in the public prints, but nothing can extinguish the feelings of gratitude which warm my breast towards those friends who have so nobly sustained me as the representative of our cause during the late canvass. My prayer is that they may be appreciated and rewarded as their patriotism deserves; but for myself, I consider my political career at an end and have nothing further to ask.

I am, Gentlemen, your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The above letter was addressed to a party committee.

[December 5, 1856, Mr. Fillmore wrote from Buffalo to Erastus Corning, urging him to accept the position of Secretary of the Treasury, if offered to him. This letter was sold at auction in Boston, Apr. 26, 1904; its present ownership is not known to the editor.]

TO COMMANDER THOMAS J. PAGE.

BUFFALO, December 15, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 11th inst. together with a copy of your preliminary report to the Navy Department on your exploring expedition to "La Plata," came duly to

hand; for which I beg you to accept my most sincere thanks.

I have read the report with great interest. It shows that you have accomplished a very important work; and I hope Congress will provide the means of enabling you to give the result to the world in a manner creditable to yourself and the country.

I regret to say that my maps of that country are not very good, but you will now be enabled to give us one of great value; and I trust that the commercial enterprise of the country, aided by the General Government, will avail itself of your labors to extend our commerce into those fruitful regions.

Upon the whole, I congratulate you and the country upon the success of your undertaking.

Your duties have been arduous and privations great; but you have surmounted every difficulty and are entitled to the thanks of the country, if not to a more significant manifestation of its gratitude. I am now satisfied that the expedition was wisely ordered, and its conduct committed to the right man. . . .

I am, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Commander THOMAS J. PAGE.

In 1851 Captain Thomas Jefferson Page, a Virginian who had already distinguished himself in the naval service, was given command of the Water Witch, and sent on an exploring expedition to the valley of La Plata, with full diplomatic powers to form commercial treaties with the South American states in that region. The first part of the expedition consumed three years. Commander Page's report gave great satisfaction to the Government; and the enterprise as a whole may be reckoned as one of the substantial achievements of Mr. Fillmore's Administration.

THE HARRISON MONUMENT AT CINCINNATI.

BUFFALO, February 16, 1857

A. J. M. BROWNE, *Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 9th enclosing an invitation to be present at the Washington Anniversary and Harrison Monument Ball, on the 23d, and regret exceedingly that it is out of my power to accept it.

I am happy to see that the citizens of Cincinnati are determined to honor themselves by doing honor to their illustrious statesman, Gen. Harrison.

I am, your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE

The object of the ball to which Mr. Fillmore was invited, was to raise funds for a proposed monument to General Harrison. Mr. Fillmore's letter was addressed to the chairman of the committee of arrangements, at Cincinnati.

MEMPHIS RAILROAD CELEBRATION.

BUFFALO, N. Y., April 17, 1857.

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by the receipt of your letter of the 6th inst., announcing the completion of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, and kindly tendering the hospitality of the city of Memphis, on the 1st and 2d days of May next, when this auspicious result will be celebrated.

I have a most pleasant recollection of my brief stay in your beautiful and hospitable city, in the spring of 1854, and nothing would give me more pleasure than to join with you in heartfelt congratulations at the completion of that iron chain which binds—I trust in indissoluable bonds—the Mississippi to the Atlantic. But I regret to say that it is out of my power, and I can only return you and the citizens of Memphis my cordial thanks for inviting me to be present on such an interesting occasion. I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant.

MILLARD FILLMORE

To Messrs. ROBERTSON, TOPP, *and others, committee.*

Printed, Memphis *Eagle and Enquirer,* May, 1857

UNDISTURBED BY PERSONAL ATTACKS.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1857.

SIR: I am, this morning, in receipt of your favor of the 27th inst., in relation to the publication of advertisements in the New Bedford *Mercury.*

The explanation is entirely satisfactory. The attack on myself, did not disturb my equanimity in the least, but friends often suspect something wrong when they see the patronage of the Government bestowed on one who is abusing it.

Yours truly,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. GREEL[E]Y, JR., *Esq., Boston, Mass.*

Original MS. owned by Mr. Charles E. Goodspeed, Boston.

INAUGURATION OF CRAWFORD'S "WASHINGTON," AT RICHMOND.

BUFFALO, N. Y. Feb. 1st [1858]

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ult., inviting me to be present at the elevation of the statue of Washington to its position on the "Virginia Washington Monument," in the city of Richmond, on the 22nd day of February inst., and regret exceedingly that my engagements are such as to deprive me of the pleasure of accepting your invitation.

Your State is justly entitled to great credit for erecting this noble monument to her peerless son, as a triumph of gratitude to his memory. But the fame of Washington is more enduring than monumental brass and sculptured marble; and when that proud pile of granite shall have crumbled to the dust, and that beautiful bronze statue with which it is crowned shall be exhibited as an ancient relic in some future museum, the name of Washington will shine with increased lustre on the brightest page of his country's history. Surely, then, nothing which I could do or say could add to this undying fame; but, nevertheless, I should rejoice to testify by my presence, my deep veneration and profound respect for the character of Washington.

Perhaps there never was a time when his unselfish example and prophetic warnings were of more importance to his country than now. The Union which he sacrificed so

much to establish, is threatened; that warning which he left as a paternal legacy to his country is slighted, and a growing discontent, North and South, cannot fail to create anxiety in the breast of every true patriot.

And at a time like this I should rejoice to meet my countrymen from all parts of this wide-spread Republic, at the Monument of Washington, reared by his own native State, and there, upon that sacred altar, as children of our revolutionary sires, pledge for ourselves, *"our lives and our sacred honors,"* to maintain this Government, and "to frown indignantly upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

I beg of you, gentlemen, to accept my grateful thanks for the honor you have done me by deeming me worthy of an invitation to be present on this interesting occasion; and permit me to subscribe myself

Your friend and fellow citizen,

MILLARD FILLMORE

Addressed to the committee of reception, etc., Richmond, Va.

PERSONAL BUSINESS.

BUFFALO, May 17, 1858.

Dr. HENRY P. WELLING.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 12th inst. enclosing your draft on the Trenton Banking Company for Five hundred dollars ($500)—being collections for Mrs. Fillmore for which I return both her thanks and my own. Will you do me the favor to send me a list of the demands left with you for collection with the amount collected of each, as I find myself quite in the dark on this subject. I regret to hear of your illness but am happy to hear that you are convalescent.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Buffalo Historical Society.

A RAPID TRANSIT EPISODE.

BUFFALO, Nov. 5, 1859.

DEAR SIR: A public meeting was called at St. James Hotel, Buffalo, on the fourth of November, 1859. The Hon. Millard Fillmore was called to preside and George R. Babcock, Esq., was appointed secretary.

Upon motion of Orlando Allen, Esq., and seconded by Benjamin H. Austin, it was resolved, That a committee of fifteen persons be named by the chairman to examine at their leisure and report upon the practicability of the project submitted by Mr. Germain, and that the secretary, at the request of said committee, be authorized to call a meeting for the purpose of receiving and considering said report.

At a subsequent day, the chairman named the following gentlemen as the committee under the foregoing resolution: Capt. Thomas A. Budd, William C. Young, Prof. George Hadley, Capt. D. P. Dobbins, Engineer David Bell, Engineer Charles D. Delaney, Capt. Jacob Banta, Capt. Frederick A. Jones, Engineer William Moses, the Rev. A. T. Chester, Engineer William Allen, Engineer E. H. Reese, Civil-Engineer Peter Emslie, Prof. Charles E. West, the Hon. N. K. Hall.

You will receive notice of the time and place of the first meeting of the committee.

MILLARD FILLMORE,
President.

GEORGE R. BABCOCK, *Secretary.*

The above call was published in the Buffalo papers, and sent to many citizens. On November 4, 1859, Mr. Fillmore presided, at St. James Hall, over a meeting of Buffalo citizens who had become interested in the claims of Kollin Germain of Buffalo, the promoter of a steamship model by which he claimed vessels could run a hundred miles an hour, and cross the Atlantic in a day and a quarter. For the lakes, he had devised an iron-hull craft, a thousand feet long, propelled by six wheels, three on each side; she was to carry 3000 tons of freight, and 3000 passengers at a speed of fifty miles an hour. Numerous other features, possibly more startling in 1859 than they would be today, were a part of the project, all so effectively presented in a series of lectures, that the shrewd, hard-headed men of Buffalo appointed a committee of fifteen, with Mr. Fillmore as chairman, to investigate and report. The scientific examination

was entrusted to the very competent hands of Dr. Charles E. West. Some weeks later Mr. Fillmore issued the following:

The Committee appointed in November last to examine the drawings and specifications of Rollin Germain, Esq., for a steam vessel on a new plan, having notified me that they had performed the duties assigned them, and were ready to report, I hereby notify the citizens of Buffalo that a meeting will be held at the Old Court House, on Saturday next, the 11th of February, at 7½ o'clock in the evening, to hear and consider said report.

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman of former meeting.

BUFFALO, Feb. 9, 1860.

At a final meeting, Feb. 13th, Dr. West made an elaborate and very sensible report, adverse to any endorsement of Mr. Germain's schemes; and Mr. Fillmore felt called on to explain his connection with the affair. "He was unacquainted with the practical merits of the subject," he said, "and in taking the part he had in the meetings, was only governed by his desire to assist in procuring for the project that careful investigation which it deserved, and from his wish to aid every undertaking which would enure to the interest of our city."

THE "NORTH AND SOUTH" LETTER

BUFFALO, Dec. 16, 1859.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 13th reached me yesterday, inclosing a call for a public meeting in New York City, headed

"The North and the South—Justice and Fraternity,"

and inviting me to be present on the occasion.

As no time is specified, I hasten to respond by saying that the objects of the meeting have my most hearty approval, but I have long since withdrawn from any participation in politics beyond that of giving my vote for those whom I deem the best and the safest men to govern the country; and I have uniformally, since I was at the head of the government, declined all invitations to attend political meetings; yet, in view of the stormy aspect and threatening tendency of public events, did I feel that my presence at your meeting could, in the least, tend to allay the growing jealousy between the North and the South, I should, at some personal inconvenience, accept your invitation, and cordially join you in admonishing the country, North and South, to mutual forbearance toward each other, and to cease crimination and recrimination on both sides, and endeavor to restore again that fraternal feeling and confidence which have made us a great and happy people.

But it seems to me that if my opinions are of any importance to my countrymen, they now have them in a much more responsible and satisfactory form than I could give them by participating in the proceedings of any meeting. My sentiments on this unfortunate question of slavery, and

the constitutional rights of the South in regard to it, have not changed since they were made manifest to the whole country by the performance of a painful duty in approving and enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. What the Constitution gives I would concede at every sacrifice. I would not seek to enjoy its benefits without sharing its burthens and its responsibilities. I know of no other rule of political right or expediency. Those were my sentiments then—they are my sentiments now. I stand by the Constitution of my country at every hazard, and am prepared to maintain it at every sacrifice.

Here I might stop; but since I have yielded to the impulse to write, I will not hesitate to express, very briefly, my views on one or two events which have occurred since I retired from office, and which, in all probability, have given rise to your meeting. This I can not do intelligently without a brief reference to some events which occurred during my administration.

All must remember that in 1849 and 1850 the country was severely agitated on this disturbing question of slavery. That contest grew out of the acquisition of new territory from Mexico, and a contest between the North and the South, as to whether Slavery should be tolerated in any part of that Territory. Mixed up with this, was a claim on the part of the slaveholding states, that the provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service should be made available, as the law of 1793 on that subject, which depended chiefly on State officers for its execution, had become inoperative because State officers were not obliged to perform that duty.

After a severe struggle, which threatened the integrity of the Union, Congress finally passed laws settling these questions; and the Government and the people for a time seemed to acquiesce in that *compromise* as a final settlement of this exciting question; and it is exceedingly to be regretted that mistaken ambition or the hope of promoting a party triumph should have tempted any one to raise this question again. But in an evil hour this Pandora's box of Slavery was again opened by what I conceive to be an un-

justifiable attempt to force Slavery into Kansas by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the floods of evils now swelling and threatening to overthrow the Constitution, and sweep away the foundation of the Government itself, and deluge the land with fraternal blood, may all be traced to this unfortunate act. Whatever might have been the motive, few acts have ever been so barren of good, and so fruitful of evil.

The contest has exasperated the public mind, North and South, and engendered feelings of distrust, and, I may say, hate, that I fear it will take years to wear away. The lamentable tragedy at Harper's Ferry is clearly traceable to this unfortunate controversy about Slavery in Kansas, and while the chief actor of this criminal invasion has exhibited some traits of character that challenge our admiration, yet his fanatical zeal seems to have blinded his moral perceptions, and hurried him into an unlawful attack upon the lives of a peaceful and unoffending community in a sister State, with the evident intention of raising a servile insurrection, which no one can contemplate without horror; and few, I believe very few, can be found, so indifferent to the consequences of his acts, and so blinded by fanatical zeal, as not to believe that he justly suffered the penalty of the law which he had violated.

I can not but hope that the fate of John Brown and his associates, will deter all others from any unlawful attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sister State. But this tragedy has now closed, and Virginia has vindicated the supremacy of her laws, and shown that she is quite competent to manage her own affairs, and protect her own rights. And thanks to an Overruling Providence, the question about Slavery in Kansas is now also settled, and settled in favor of Freedom. The North has triumphed, and having triumphed, let her, by her magnanimity and generosity to her Southern brethren, show that the contest on her part was one of principle, and not of personal hatred, or the low ambition of a sectional triumph.

Finally, if I had the power to speak, and there were any disposed to listen to my counsel, I would say to my brethren

of the South: Be not alarmed, for there are few, very few, at the North who would justify in any manner an attack upon the institutions of the South which are guaranteed by the Constitution. We are all anti-Slavery in sentiment, but we know that we have nothing to do with it in the several states, and we do not intend to interfere with it. And I would say to my brethren of the North, respect the rights of the South; assure them by your acts that you regard them as friends and brethren. And I would conjure all in the name of all that is sacred, to let this agitation cease with the causes which have produced it. Let harmony be restored between the North and the South, and let every patriot rally around our national flag, and swear upon the altar of his country to sustain and defend it.

I am, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs. SAM'L L. M. BARLOW, WILSON G. HUNT,
and JAMES BROOKS, *Committee, &c.*

Following the Harper's Ferry raid and execution of John Brown, many Northern cities held "Union" meetings; the greatest of them—said to have been the largest civic assemblage in America, up to that time—was held, Dec. 19, 1859, in the Academy of Music, New York City, with thousands filling adjacent streets, unable to enter. The foregoing letter from Mr. Fillmore was read, as were letters from ex-Presidents Van Buren and Pierce, Gen. Winfield S. Scott, and other prominent men. Among the speakers were Charles O'Conor, Washington Hunt, and James Brooks, the last-named presenting a long series of resolutions, in which the meeting declared that "we regard the recent outrage at Harper's Ferry as a crime not only against the State of Virginia, but against the Union itself"; "that in our opinion the subject of slavery has been too long mingled with party politics," and that it is the duty of every citizen "to discountenance all parties and organizations that thus violate the spirit of the Constitution and the advice of Washington." This was called by a portion of the press, a "vindication of Northern sentiment," but sentiment shifted rapidly in that crisis, and many who in 1859 could not find words bitter enough to express their condemnation of the abolitionists, changed front entirely long before the end of the war.

TO A PHILADELPHIA COMMITTEE.

BUFFALO, Feb. 2, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 30th ult., inviting me to attend a meeting of the Constitutional Union Association on

the 4th inst., has, this moment, come to hand, and I hasten to express my regret that it is not in my power to do so.

You say the basis of your Association is "The Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the law"—noble objects, which have my most hearty approval. But yet I studiously avoid every appearance before the public, and can only add that I truly wish you success.

MILLARD FILLMORE

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for the perusal of Mr. Campbell's letter which I herewith return. He has not answered your question. He evidently could not; and I think few of the *"fire eaters"* have thought so far. But it is evident that Mr. C. thinks *"Secession"* will not take place. God grant it may not.

Yours truly,

MILLARD FILLMORE

March 24 [? 1860]

THE OLD WHIG PARTY.

BUFFALO, April 30, 1860.

R. MCKINLEY ORMSBY, *Esq.*

SIR: Many unforeseen occurrences delayed the perusal of your work entitled "History of the Whig Party"; but I have now just finished it, and thank you most sincerely for the pleasure and instruction which I have derived from it.

I profess to belong to no party but my country, and am taking no part in politics; but, though a silent, I am by no means an indifferent spectator of passing events. On the contrary, I look with the most intense anxiety, not to say alarm, upon the present state of things. It appears to me, that he must have read history to little profit who does not see, in the growing jealousy and hatred between the North and the South, the seeds of discord and civil strife, which may end in civil war and the destruction of this Govern-

ment. I am sure that no one can aver that there was more hatred between Great Britain and her Colonies ten, or even five years before our Revolution, than now exists between the North and the South; and the cause, if cause there be, seems likely to endure. Demagogues, North and South, fan this flame for selfish and ambitious objects; and the great masses, which are usually inert and passive, are likely to be drawn into the contest and sacrificed, *nolens volens*. May Heaven save us, for I fear we are unable or unwilling to save ourselves.

While I cannot subscribe to all the views you have advanced in your book, yet, in the main, I think its statements true and its conclusions correct; and I wish it might receive a dispassionate perusal by every citizen North and South. I am sure it would do good. But the electioneering campaign is approaching which is not favorable for the investigation of truth or the exercise of reason; and we may soon expect to see the country flooded with partisan productions, calculated to operate upon the prejudices and passions of the people, regardless of the welfare and honor of the country. But, whether the people will read or forbear, you have told them many wholesome truths, for which I return you my sincere thanks.

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

R. McKinley Ormsby was a resident of Bradford, Vt. His "History of the Whig Party," etc. (1st ed. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co., 1860; 12mo. pp. 377. 2d ed. [*ibid.*], 1860), is an excellent narrative not only of the history of the Whig party, but of the formation of parties in the United States, with the main political events of the country, down to 1860.

IN HONOR OF DR. SALEM TOWN.

BUFFALO, July 23, 1860.

[*To a committee, Aurora, N. Y.*]

I am honored by your kind invitation to join the citizens of Aurora in congratulations to their venerable citizen, Salem Town, Esq., and I can assure you that nothing could

give me more pleasure than to accept it and I have kept it under advisement two days to see if I could not make my arrangements to do so; but I regret to say that I find it impossible. It is but a few days since that my attention was called to Mr. Town's "Analysis" and after looking it over I could not help feeling a pang of regret that such a work had not been put into my hands when a boy. It would have saved me much labor and perplexity, and would have aided the memory exceedingly in remembering the definition of words. I regard Mr. Town as a public benefactor, and should be most happy to testify my respect for him were it in my power.

I know I should enjoy great pleasure in meeting some old acquaintances whom I shall never forget though they may not remember me; and I am a thousand times obliged to you for your proffered hospitality.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

In the summer of 1860, the citizens of Aurora on Cayuga Lake held a public meeting in honor of the venerable Salem Town, author of numerous educational works, chief among them being the once famous "Analysis of the English Language." The occasion celebrated was Dr. Town's 87th birthday. Among the distinguished men invited to be present were Governor Seward, Edward Everett and Mr. Fillmore. The foregoing is Mr. Fillmore's letter in reply to the invitation.

MR. FILLMORE'S REMINISCENCES OF HIS SOJOURN IN THE TOWN OF SPARTA, N. Y., IN 1814.

BUFFALO, July 28, 1860.

WILLIAM SCOTT, *Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR: I was greatly obliged for your letter of the 12th of May, in answer to mine of the 5th, giving me such information as I desired to confirm my recollections of what I saw in Sparta during my short residence there in 1814, and on the 16th of May I made a draft in my letter-book to Mr. Doty, which is hereto annexed.

But after I had finished my draft, I felt a reluctance about sending it, and permitted it to lie without copying, till

within two or three days, and while copying it my repugnance increased, and I finally concluded to send the letter to you, as an *old confidential friend,* and authorize you to give any of the information contained in it in *your own language,* which you and Mr. Doty may deem of sufficient interest to justify it.

I was born in Locke (now Summerhill), Cayuga Co., in 1800, but my father removed to Sempronius (now Niles) in 1802, and settled upon a farm about a mile west of Skaneateles lake and ten miles from its outlet, where I lived, as long as I remained at home. The whole country was then new and my childhood was spent, as it were, in the forest.

Benjamin Hungerford was our neighbor, engaged in the business of cloth-dressing, but about the year 1812 or 13, he sold out and removed to Sparta in your county, where he established himself in the same business. Early in the fall of 1814 he returned east for his supply of dye-woods, etc., and called at my father's and expressed a wish that I would go home with him and learn the trade of dressing cloth.

The war was then raging with Great Britain, and my youthful imagination and ambition were much excited by what I heard from the soldiers who returned from the lines, and having an uncle and cousin on the Niagara frontier, I was anxious to try the life of a soldier and asked my father's permission to go for three months as a substitute for some one who was drafted; but he refused his assent and probably with a view of directing my attention from so foolish a project induced Mr. Hungerford to ask me to go with him. At all events my father expressed a strong desire that I should go and I consented.

My father's residence was not only in a new country, but quite remote from all the great thoroughfares of travel, and my life had been spent in obscurity. I knew nothing of the world, never having been absent from home for two successive days, nor formed the acquaintance of any beyond the few scattered neighbors of the vicinity. I felt a natural reluctance at leaving a tender and affectionate mother, but was buoyed up and sustained by the thought of doing some-

thing for myself, and acting the part of a man. But the journey to me was a very long and tedious one. I do not know the distance but probably about 100 miles. Mr. Hungerford had a poor team, heavily laden and the road much of the way was very bad; and the consequence was that I travelled most of the distance on foot and suffered with sore feet and stiffened limbs. I recollect little that arrested my attention on the way except the wildness of the country as we approached the end of our journey, and the extraordinary luxuriance of vegetation in the valley of the Canaseraga creek. I was indeed glad to reach Mr. Hungerford's residence, solitary and desolate as it appeared among the hills in an almost unbroken forest. But I required rest, and a new country had no terrors for me. Knowing nothing of the geography of the country, and never having been there since, I can only describe this locality by what I have since learned from others. It was in the town of East Sparta, and three miles northwest of the village of Dansville, or Sparta West Hill, on a small, rapid mill-stream, emptying into the Canaseraga creek, about a mile below. I understand that nothing of the old mill and shop remain but a part of the flume and dam; but that it is yet known as the *Hungerford Place,* and is owned and occupied by a farmer by the name of Enos Hartman.

Whatever may have been my vague dreams of ambition, I certainly had no thoughts of realizing them, and at that time I had no expectation of anything more than to acquire a good trade and to pursue it through life for a livelihood. I went with the understanding that I was to remain four months, and then, if we were both satisfied, we were to make further arrangements. But perhaps I expected too much. At any rate, the treatment which I received was very galling to my feelings, and has ever caused me to feel a deep sympathy for the youngest apprentice (even to the *printer's devil*) in every establishment.

Instead of being set to work at my trade as I had anticipated, I was required to chop wood and do all manner of servile labor and *chores,* and when I manifested some sur-

prise and reluctance at this treatment, my murmurs were silenced by being told that this was the usage of the trade. I bore this for some time until I could endure it no longer, and one day when I had been chopping in the woods I came into the shop a little before dark and was ordered by Mr. Hungerford to go on the hill and cut some wood for the shop. I took the ax and as I went out of the door, said I did not come there expecting to give my time to learn to chop wood. I waited for no reply but went up the hill and mounted a log and commenced chopping. In a few minutes I saw Mr. Hungerford coming after me with his face evidently flushed with anger. As he approached he said: "Do you think yourself abused because you have to chop wood?" I replied, "Yes, I do, for I could learn to chop at home and I am giving my time to learn a trade; I am not satisfied and do not think my father will be." As I was angry, I presume my manner as well as my language was not entirely respectful. At all events he charged me with impudence, and threatened to chastise me; upon which I raised my ax and told him if he came near me I would knock him down. He stood silent a moment and then turned and walked off.

Looking back for 46 years at this little incident of my boyhood, I am inclined to think that this was an unjustifiable rebellion, or at least that my threat of knocking him down was going too far, for I fear I should have executed it; and my only justification or apology is that I have an inborn hatred to injustice and tyranny which I cannot repress. Next day he asked me if I wished to go home. I replied that I came on trial for four months, and if I could be employed in learning the trade I was willing to stay; otherwise, I would return. He said I might remain, and from that time my employment was more satisfactory.

He had a large family of children, and the fare was not such as I had been accustomed to, and it required all my fortitude and patience to endure it; but I resolved to go through, and I was determined to accomplish what I had undertaken at every sacrifice of comfort. My pride was touched at the thought of an ignominious failure.

He had one older apprentice or hired man by the name of John Dunham, but our tastes did not agree, and he was no company for me. But, fortunately, the foreman of the shop was Wm. Scott, still living and residing in Scottsburg, in your county, who seemed born for a higher and better destiny, and whose merits, I am happy to hear, have in some measure been appreciated by his fellow-citizens. In him I found a friend and also a congenial companion, so far as such a boy could be a companion to a man of maturer years. I formed for him a friendship which I still cherish with grateful recollections. He was the only society which I enjoyed. I scarcely visited a neighbor, for only one or two were near enough to be acceptable to me. I neither saw book or newspaper, to my recollection. I attended no church, and think there was none in that vicinity, and I had no holiday except New Year's. On that day we all went down to Duncan's on the creek,[1] and there for the first time in my life I saw the rough sports of the season and place, such as raffling, whiskey-drinking and turkey-shooting, with occasional displays of athletic strength.

I recollect that I was ushered into a room almost stifling with the fumes of whiskey and tobacco smoke, in one corner of which was a live turkey, and in the center a table surrounded by men who were greatly excited in raffling for the turkey. The game, as I recollect it, was this: The turkey was put up by the owner at a certain price—say four shillings, and then they put twelve cents into a hat and each shook them up and emptied them on the table three times, and he who turned the most heads in the three throws, won the turkey, but instead of taking it, he immediately put it up again at the same price, and the same process was gone over again; and this continued through the evening. I was urged to take a chance, and I did so once, and won the turkey. I put him up again, pocketed the price, and have never gambled a cent since.

The weather was warm for the season, and it had rained some during the day. We stayed till about midnight, and

1. Afterwards called Bradner's creek.

then started for home. We had to go about a mile through a dark pine forest, and our path in many places ran near the precipitous bank of the little stream on which Hungerford's cloth-dressing establishment was situated. Only the underbrush had been cleared from the road, but the large trees were blazed to guide our way. As we had no lantern, we supplied ourselves with a torch of pine knots; but we had not proceeded far when by some accident it was extinguished, and I was sent back to light it again. This detained me longer than was anticipated, and when I got back to the spot where I left my companions, I found they had gone, and so I pursued my way alone. But by the time I had got half way through the woods I was overtaken by a very sudden and severe thunder storm, which extinguished my torch and left me in Egyptian darkness. I am sure I never saw a darker night. I looked up, but could not see the shade of a tree or opening. I moved my hand before my upturned face, but saw no shadow. The flashes of lightning for a moment revealed the dense forest around, and then all was impenetrable darkness. The thunder rolled terribly, and at intervals I could hear the dashing waters of the swollen stream below, warning me that I was near the precipice, beneath which they flowed. I dared not go forward for fear that I should be plunged headlong into the gulf beneath, and the thought of standing there all night in the cold, drenching rain was terrible. I had but one alternative, and that was to make my companions hear, if possible, and bring them back to my relief. I halloed several times with all my might, and at last heard a response. They had just reached home, but had not entered the house when they heard me. The worst of the shower was soon over. They prepared a light and came back, and relieved me from my terrible situation.

Some time in December or January I was sent on foot to Dansville for some groceries for sickness. I cannot fix the time, but I recollect that there were two or three inches of snow on the ground, and I went what seemed to me a very circuitous route. By the time I had purchased my stores it was nearly sundown, and I inquired if there was no nearer

way back than the one which I came, and was told that there was an unfrequented path through the shrubby pine forest much nearer. I accordingly took it, and found the track of a single person, which I followed without difficulty; but just after dark, to my surprise, I came to the Canaseraga creek, which was not frozen sufficiently to bear me, and there was no bridge. There had once been a wooden bridge, built on cobble horses for abutments on each bank, but it was all gone except the cobble horses and one string piece.[1] Just then I heard the wolves howl, and presume they were on my track. I looked down into the dark waters of the creek and could see very little, but could hear the ice crack as though a rising flood was breaking it up. I looked at the solitary string piece across the dark abyss, covered with snow, and concluded I could not safely walk it. I could not turn back for I had not even a cane with which to fight the wolves. I felt that if I was once across that gulf I should be safe, and that there was but one mode of accomplishing it, and that was to climb up the cobble horse, sit down on the string piece and hitch myself across; and this I did, and arrived safely at home, thankful for my escape.

I can add little in reference to the people. I remember a Mr. Baird owned a saw mill above Hungerford's on the same stream. The Duncans and a Mr. McNair lived on the flats, but I had no acquaintance with them. Jonathan Weston, however, a brother-in-law of Hungerford and a son-in-law of Gen. Daniel Shays of insurrectionary memory, lived near Hungerford and I had known Weston before he went there and recollect calling at his house and seeing General Shays there and being greatly disappointed in his personal appearance. He seemed to me a very common man and I could but wonder how he had become so famous, for it was as common when I was a boy to hurrah for Shays as it has been since to hurrah for Jackson. But one was intended as a joke whereas the other was sober earnest.

About the middle of January, 1815, my probation of four months being ended, I shouldered my musket and on foot

[1] This bridge was built by Capt. Charles Williamson, at what was afterwards Commonsville.

and alone returned to my father's house, not exactly like the prodigal son, but scarcely less gratified to get home and fully resolved never to go back. But since then I have formed many pleasant acquaintances in your county and have enjoyed many pleasant visits to other parts of it, but I have never revisited the scenes of my boyhood, though I confess I should like to do so.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

The foregoing narrative was written by Mr. Fillmore, probably at the request of his friend William Scott, who was preparing a historical sketch of West Sparta for Lockwood L. Doty's "History of Livingston County." A portion of Mr. Fillmore's letter appears in that work. Mr. Scott says: "I met young Fillmore the morning after his arrival, and at once took a liking to him. He was dressed in a suit of homespun sheep's-gray coat and trousers, wool hat and stout cowhide boots, but his appearance was very tidy. His light hair was long, his face was round and chubby, and his demeanor was that of a bright, intelligent, good-natured lad, quite sedate, rather slow in his motions, with an air of thoughtfulness that gained my respect." The original manuscript of this letter to Mr. Scott was sent, at the time of Mr. Fillmore's death, by W. H. C. Hosmer of Avon, to the Rochester *Union and Advertiser*, in which it was printed, Mch. 13, 1874. Some of the incidents are retold in the "Autobiography" which Mr. Fillmore wrote in 1871. (*See* I. Fillmore, pp. 1-16.) In the fall of 1860 Mr. Fillmore visited the Hungerford place in Sparta with Mr. Scott. "The mill where he had worked was gone, and the site overgrown with tangled brushwood." (Hosmer.) He returned to Dansville and by invitation addressed the citizens in the Academy. No adequate report of the speech is known.

TO ONE IN QUEST OF INFORMATION.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, Aug't. 23d 1860.

C. TOWNSEND, *Esq.*

SIR: Yours of the 21st has just reached me here, and in reply to your inquiry permit me to state, that I was born in Summerhill, Cayuga Co., N. Y., on the 7th of January 1800. But I regret to say that I can furnish you no information as to the time of births of the other Presidents. Surgeon Wood of Baltimore is a son in law of Prest. Taylor and may be able to give you the desired information.

Respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Original MS. owned by the Public Library, Utica, N. Y.

TO THE PRINCE OF WALES, EN TOUR.

BUFFALO, Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1860.

To the PRINCE OF WALES:

The citizens of Buffalo, understanding that Your Royal Highness contemplates visiting some portions of the United States, have appointed a committee to invite you, if convenient, to take in Buffalo in your route.

That committee, in obedience to the desire of our citizens, is happy to extend to Your Royal Highness a most cordial invitation to visit our city at such time as may suit your convenience.

While our people, as an independent nation, cannot be supposed to feel that loyalty which has been enthusiastically and justly expressed in Canada, yet there is a bond of sympathy between the United States and Great Britain arising from their common origin, consanguinity, language, and literature, and the great similarity of their religion, laws, and government, differing more in form than in substance, and more especially from the proximity of our city to Her Majesty's colonial possessions, and the friendly and social intercourse existing among the people, which will, we are confident, insure Your Highness a most cordial welcome by our citizens; and the committee, without any burdensome ceremonial or ostentatious display, will be most happy to show to Your Royal Highness whatever may interest a stranger in our young but growing city.

Should this invitation be accepted, the committee would esteem it a favor to be informed at as early a day as possible of the time fixed by Your Royal Highness for the visit.

With assurance of the high regard and consideration of the committee, I have the honor to be Your Highness's most obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman.

During his American tour in 1860 the Prince of Wales visited Niagara Falls, Canadian side, and on Sept. 14th inspected the ruins at Fort Erie. Thousands from Buffalo gathered on the Canadian battlefield, and the Prince

accepted the escort of the Buffalo Light Dragoons and the staff of the 74th Regiment, New York State militia; but he did not visit Buffalo.

The following was received in reply to Mr. Fillmore's letter:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, TORONTO,
September 11, 1860.

SIR: I have received your letter of the 5th of September, and have laid it before the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness regrets exceedingly that the arrangements already made and the shortness of the time at his disposal will prevent him from accepting your invitation, for which His Royal Highness feels much obliged.

The reasons for his not doing so have been most fully explained to the gentlemen composing the deputation.

The Prince of Wales is greatly gratified by a letter from so eminent a person as yourself, as he is pleased to have received the invitation of the citizens of Buffalo.

I am Sir, your very obedient servant,

NEWCASTLE.

To the Hon. MILLARD FILLMORE.

A PROPOSED MISSION TO THE SOUTH.

BUFFALO, Dec. 19, 1860.

Hon. JOHN A. DIX.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 17th inst., inclosing the proceedings of a "Union meeting," held on Saturday evening, in New York, did not reach me until yesterday afternoon.

I have read the whole proceedings with great interest, and I cannot feel otherwise than flattered that the distinguished and patriotic men composing that meeting thought me worthy to compose one of a delegation of three "to proceed to the South, with a view to make such explanations to our Southern brethren in regard to the subjects embraced in the address and resolutions (adopted by the meeting) as they may deem necessary, and to give such further assurances as may be needed to manifest our determination to maintain their rights."

This is certainly an honorable and patriotic mission, and did I believe it could do any good, I should not hesitate a moment to undertake it. But you will pardon me for saying frankly that, in my opinion, our Southern brethren require no assurances beyond that of the meeting, and the address and resolutions, to convince them that the members of that meeting and those they represented, now are, and at all

times have been willing to do them justice, and have done their utmost to maintain their constitutional rights, and to go there and inform them merely of this fact, which is all we can do, is in my opinion a work of supererogation.

What they want, and what I want, is some assurance from the Republican party, now dominant at the North, that they, or at least the conservative portion of them, are ready and willing to come forward and repeal all unconstitutional state laws; live up to the compromises of the Constitution, execute the laws of Congress honestly, and faithfully, and treat our Southern brethren as friends. When I can have any such reliable assurances as this to give, I will go most cheerfully and urge our Southern brethren to follow our example, and restore harmony and fraternal feelings between the North and the South.

At present, our labors should be here. Let us put ourselves right, and then we can with more confidence and justice appeal to them; and I am happy to say that recent indications lead me to hope that this may be done. I am especially grateful to see the patriotic and sensible article in the Albany *Journal* of last Monday. Standing, as the senior editor of that paper does, at the head of his party, it required great moral courage and good sense and devoted patriotism to indite and publish such an article. But I regard it as evidence that there are men in the Republican party, who have been regarded as most ultra, who see the danger that threatens, and are willing to sacrifice all false pride, and even party itself to save the country. I cannot doubt that there are many more such, and from that source I look for the salvation of the country. But I cannot say more. I have written in the utmost haste, that a substitute may be appointed in my place. I am truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

On Dec. 15, 1860, a meeting, ostensibly of merchants, was held in a Pine-street office, New York City, "to consult as to the best means to be adopted to avert the danger now threatening the Union, and to assure to the South sufficient protection to their constitutional rights within the Union." Ex-President Van Buren and numerous prominent Democratic politicians were present. Although claiming to be non-partisan, the meeting voiced the sentiments of the Democratic party; its chief result was a request to ex-President Fillmore to visit

South Carolina "as commissioner from New York to exhort temperate action and delay" on the part of the former State. Mr. Fillmore's reply was withheld by the committee, on the ground that it was not intended for publication. At length, however, on Jan. 22, 1861, it appeared in the New York *World*, as above printed.

A COOPER INSTITUTE MEETING.

BUFFALO, Jany 18, 1861.

GENTLEMEN: I have your flattering invitation to attend a meeting of the Citizens of New York at the Cooper Institute on Monday next, but regret to say that it is out of my power to accept it.

I am Respectfully
your obt. servt.
MILLARD FILLMORE

Messrs. T. BAILEY MYERS, E. J. BROWN & *others,*
Committee &c.

MS. collections, New York Public Library, Lenox branch.

TO THE HON. JAMES O. PUTNAM.

BUFFALO, Jan. 28, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 22d and am happy to hear you say that "All men capable of Statesmanship have learned that there is a wide difference between contesting for power and wielding it." If the Republican party should appreciate this sentiment in time and act upon it, they may save the Union, but I fear that a majority can never be brought to take so sensible a view. Most men have but one idea, and if that gives a wrong prejudice there is no help. I am not one of those who is disposed to impute the whole blame for the calamities which have fallen upon the country exclusively to the North or the South—both have been to blame, nor am I disposed to censure any of my old political friends for the course which they took at the last election; they doubtless acted conscientiously, and did what they

thought best for the country. But knowing what I did of the temper of the South I feared the result which we now witness, and so warned my friends in 1856. But I know that they did not have the same apprehension. But while I feared and predicted this—and at all times have done what I could to avoid it—yet I by no means approve of the course of the seceding States. I think their acts are suicidal and wholly unjustifiable. I have great confidence in President Lincoln's conservatism, integrity and patriotism, and could this unfortunate *rebellion* have been delayed for 6 months after his inauguration, I think it would have been morally impossible. But I greatly fear that all is lost! Still I try to believe in the old Roman maxim, Never to despair of the Republic.

I have read with great interest and satisfaction the article from the Princeton *Review,* and must say that my old friend Thurlow Weed, for the course he has recently taken, deserves the thanks of his country, and for it I am ready to forgive him all his hostility to me and my administration.

With sentiments of respect,

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. JAMES O. PUTNAM.

Original MS. owned by Mr. Harvey Putnam, Buffalo.

THE BUFFALO COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC DEFENSE IN 1862

Millard Fillmore
July 1862.

From a Signed Photograph in the Possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

MEMORIALS AND LETTERS

WRITTEN BY MR. FILLMORE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BUFFALO

COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC DEFENSE

IN 1862

An interesting phase of Buffalo's Civil War history of which little has been recorded was the organization of the "Committee of Public Defense," in January, 1862. On January 2d a printed circular was distributed to 350 of the principal citizens of Buffalo, inviting them to a meeting at the old Court House on the following day. It was signed by Mr. Fillmore, as chairman, together with William G. Fargo, Nelson Randall and Watson A. Fox.[1] At the meeting on the evening of the 3d, attended by "as many as could gain access," Mr. Fillmore was made permanent chairman of the committee, and stated on taking the chair that the object of the organization was to take such measures as were possible for the defense of the city in case of a war with Great Britain. That this contingency was very seriously apprehended in Buffalo at the time, there is no doubt. As chairman, Mr. Fillmore signed the memorials which were ad-

1. The members of the Committee, besides Mr. Fillmore, were: William G. Fargo, Nelson Randall, George R. Babcock, Watson A. Fox, S. V. R. Watson, Solomon Scheu, Bronson C. Rumsey, Henry W. Rogers, John Allen, Jr., N. K. Hall, Edward Storck, John Wilkeson, E. P. Dorr, William A. Bird and John E. McMahon.

dressed to the State Legislature and to Congress, and wrote to the Governor of the State, to the Secretary of War and to Buffalo's Members of Congress. These documents, which follow, well indicate the scope of the work which was accomplished by the committee.

As the war went on, the local apprehension of invasion from Canada diminished, the energy of the community was turned to other channels and we hear no more of the Committee of Defense. Several meetings, however, were held during January and February of 1862, and numerous statistics collected, showing the importance of the lake and canal route, the eastward and westward shipments by rail through Buffalo, the location and capacity of dry docks and ship yards on the lakes, with various data relating to the Welland canal and lake marine in general.[1]

THE INITIAL CALL.

BUFFALO, January 2, 1862.

SIR: There will be a meeting of the citizens of Buffalo, at the old Court House, on Friday evening, January 3d, at 8 o'clock, to take into consideration the subject of the defense of our city and frontier, and calling the attention of our State Legislature, to the necessity of an appropriation for the equipment of our home Militia, placing them in a condition for any emergency, as well as furnishing the arms, ammunitions, and accoutrements, our position seems to require.

You are respectfully invited, and urged to be present.

MILLARD FILLMORE
[*and others.*]

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1. All of these statistics, with the correspondence and memorials here printed, are preserved in the original record-book of the "Buffalo Committee of Public Defense," now owned by the Buffalo Historical Society. The editor finds no mention of this committee or its efforts for the protection of Buffalo, in any of the local histories.

THE APPEAL TO GOVERNOR MORGAN.

BUFFALO, Jany 8, 1862.

His Excellency E. D. MORGAN, *Governor &c.*

SIR: Having been charged by the citizens of Buffalo with [the] duty of applying to the State and National authorities for the adoption of measures necessary to the defense of this city, and of the public works whose utility is dependent upon its safety, We beg leave respectfully to ask your Excellency as Governor and Commander-in-Chief and as Major General of Volunteers commanding this Military Department, to consider the defenseless condition of this city and the Niagara frontier and the dangers to which this city and the frontier and the Erie canal and other public works in the western part of the State would be exposed in the event of a war with Great Britain. To your Excellency we need not speak of the importance of our city, of the magnitude and value of the commerce [of] our lakes and of the Erie canal, or of the railroads of the State, or of their business, nor of their special importance in a military point of view. Their value, their extent and the revenues and profits derived therefrom to the State and its inhabitants as well as its advantages which result from their use to the General Government and the people of the western states, are well known to you, and we are confident you will be well disposed to exert your authority and influence for the advancement of suitable measures for the protection of public interests, of such incalculable value and importance.

At present this city and frontier are almost wholly without means of defense. Fort Porter, the only defensive work above Fort Niagara, has been entirely deprived of its partial armament to supply heavy ordnance to the Department of the West, and there are in the arsenal here and fit for actual service only two hundred muskets and ten pieces of field artillery. In private hands there are but few arms, and those are mostly unsuited to military operations. The two militia

regiments here are therefore without suitable arms and must remain small in numbers until the furnishing of arms, uniforms and equipments shall enable them to make a respectable appearance and offer proper inducements to those who are willing to join an efficient military organization. To these we desire to add a battery of light and another [of] heavy artillery with army uniforms and equipments, complete, and if the State will furnish the arms, uniforms and equipments for this force we are confident the ranks may be speedily filled with the best class of recruits.

In the defense of the frontier the State has a peculiar and special interest. The commerce of the lakes and the business of the Erie canal which depends upon that commerce have given the State much of its business, wealth and population, and the revenues of the canals, reaching nearly four millions the past season afford an income which the State should not allow to be put at hazard. The canal draws from the Niagara river in this city its principal supply of water to Rochester and sometimes further east, and an enterprising enemy might in a few hours destroy enough of Black Rock Dam and harbor to render the canal useless for months.

The combined locks at Lockport and the aqueducts at Rochester are believed to be equally open to attack and destruction by a hostile force.

We beg leave therefore respectfully to ask that two full regiments of infantry in this city and one at Lockport and one or two at Rochester may be armed, uniformed and equipped, and that such provision be made for a small artillery and cavalry force as may be deemed expedient by your Exc'y. Also that your Exy should recommend to the Legislature such measures as will enable you to provide such means of defense to this and other portions of the State as their condition and importance may require.

For defensive works and heavy ordnance, including ship guns, and for depots at Oswego, Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland and Detroit, we intend to apply to the General Government,

and respectfully ask that you should aid us in that application generally to procure its appropriate action.[1]

We have the honor to be with great respect

Your Mo Obt Sevts

MILLARD FILLMORE
Chairman
[*and others.*]

MR. FILLMORE TO SENATOR IRA HARRIS.

BUFFALO, Jan. 10, 1862.

Hon. IRA HARRIS,

MY DEAR SIR: Our citizens are exceeding anxious that something should be done immediately for the fortification of the frontier and the defense of our city, and the commit-

1. To this communication Governor Morgan replied with the following letter (here printed from the original, owned by the Buffalo Historical Society):

ALBANY, January 11, 1862.

GENTLEMEN: I received this morning your communication of the 8th instant in relation to the adoption of measures necessary for the defence of the City of Buffalo, and of the public property of that point; and also specially referring to the defenceless condition of the Niagara frontier and the dangers to the public works in Western New York, which a war with Great Britain would involve.

I fully appreciate the magnitude of the interest you represent, and the importance of prosecuting the most vigorous policy in regard to our defences. I am resolved to use every exertion within my power to strengthen these as well at Buffalo, as on the entire line of our Lake and Sea coast; at the same time to reorganize the Militia at the earliest moment so as to secure effectiveness, and to provide, so far as possible, the necessary arms and munitions. As the General Government controls, both in this country and abroad, the supply of arms for infantry service, it is of the first importance to secure through the President or the War Department, sufficient for our purpose. The State has a limited supply of imported muskets of good quality which will have to be distributed to different portions of the State, according to a fixed rule. I would therefore recommend you to embrace in your application to the General Government a reasonable quantity of approved modern arms, and I assure you of my cordial co-operation to the extent of my ability, in carrying out the plan you have adopted.

On Tuesday next, it is expected that the presiding officers of the two branches of the Legislature will announce the Standing Committees. I intend at once to invite the respective Military Committees to a conference and shall ask their prompt action in respect to providing means and authorizing the authorities to proceed at once to the work which it is the plain dictate of prudence to enter upon. I will submit to them your communication, which cannot but have much weight, but I deem it unadvisable to give it any greater publicity, in view of the peculiar nature of the facts it presents.

I have the honor to be with high regard,

Your most obdt. servant

E. D. MORGAN.

To the Honorables
MILLARD FILLMORE, *Chairman* [*and others*].

tee on that subject have addressed a memorial to the President through the War Department, which I herewith enclose, with a request that you will do us the favor to present it in person and urge its immediate consideration of it, lest that in the pressure of business it be overlooked or neglected.

Your attention to the matter will not only confer a great favor upon your constituents in Buffalo, but will be indirectly beneficial to the whole State.

I am Truly and Respectfully Yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Ira Harris was elected United States Senator by the New York Legislature in 1861, succeeding William H. Seward.

BUFFALO'S MEMORIAL TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Jan. 10, 1862.

The Hon. S[IMON] CAMERON,
Sec'y War &c &c

SIR: The undersigned having been appointed by the citizens of Buffalo, in public meeting assembled, a Committee upon the defense of the City, beg leave most respectfully to address you, and through you, His Excellency, the President of the United States, upon the subject committed to their charge. The mere possibility of a war with Great Britain and our present defenseless condition considered in connection with the acknowledged importance of this city, of the Erie Canal, the railroads and other public works directly and immediately therewith, the rapid concentration and the movement of our military forces, and their supply and maintenance in the field, would seem to require that the National and State authorities should make early and adequate provision for the protection and security of this city and this neighborhood, and of the great national interests which would be placed at hazard in the event of war upon this frontier. The safety of this city is absolutely essential to the security of the commerce of the Great Northwestern Lakes, and to protect that commerce and to maintain the

command of those lakes in the event of war would be objects of paramount importance.

In the event of the invasion of Canada, this city would almost necessarily become the base of the most important operations against the Upper Province in connection with a simultaneous movement against Montreal and the Lower Province.

The great national importance of the interests to which we have invited your attention is too obvious to require argument and yet it may be useful to state some facts to show the magnitude of the commerce centering here.

Buffalo and Oswego are the great ports of delivery for the commerce of the Great Lakes, and through these lakes and ports (and in the event of war through the port of Buffalo alone) nearly all the bread stuffs and provisions, sent from the fertile fields of the Great West, for the supply of our armies, and to meet the demand for domestic consumption and foreign export, in the large cities of the seaboard must necessarily pass.

During the year just closed more than 58,000,000 bushels of grain (reducing flour to wheat and meal to corn) were delivered in Buffalo alone. For the carriage of this grain and the general commerce of the Lakes and their connecting rivers (with over five thousand miles of continuous lake and river coast) there were employed during the past year (according to the Register of the Board of Lake Underwriters of American shipping) seventy-three steamers, one hundred and eighty-seven steam propellers, forty-five barks, seventy-one brigs, seven hundred and ninety-seven schooners and five sloops, with an aggregate tonnage of three hundred and fourteen thousand, seven hundred & twenty-three tons (314,723), valued (at a low rate for insurance purposes) at nine million, five hundred and fifty-three thousand, three hundred and fifty dollars (9,553,350), and employing 16,800 seamen; and of British shipping, 76 steamers, 21 propellors, 18 barks, 16 brigs, 200 schooners and five sloops, having an aggregate tonnage of 71,505 tons; valued at $2,414,600 and employing more than 2,700 seamen.

Many, and it is believed that most, of the American vessels might in a short time, if proper armaments could be supplied, be converted into serviceable war vessels; and our seamen who in intelligence, activity and skill are at least equal to the seamen of the seaboard, could under the drill of competent officers be readily fitted for service at the guns and as first-class seamen on vessels of war. The value of the property transported upon these lakes the past year, is believed to exceed 450 millions of dollars, and to exceed the whole foreign commerce of all the Atlantic ports, and if this commerce should be interrupted whilst the Mississippi is closed, the states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota would not be able to reach a market for their surplus products, or obtain their accustomed supplies of manufactured goods from the Eastern States.

The railroads now in operation in this State, have an aggregate length of about 3500 miles and their construction and equipment have cost more than 135,000,000 dollars.

They extend to almost every county in the State and the four railroads operating here are so connected with the railroads of this State, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey and New England that troops from every part of the state could be rapidly concentrated and sent from this or the northern frontier, or from the interior southern frontier of the State to the capital or to the different states of the Union. The Erie canal which at this point receives the water of Lake Erie, and the commerce of the Great Lakes, is frequently dependent for its supply of water to Rochester and even to Montezuma, from the Niagara river at Buffalo, and within this city and at Lockport and Rochester important and expensive permanent erections vitally essential to the navigation of the canal, might by a hostile force, in a few hours, be destroyed, or so injured as to wholly interrupt the navigation of the canal for months, and subject the people of this State and of the Western States to the loss of many millions.

For the defense and maintenance of the Union, it is

believed that Buffalo has in the last nine months contributed a million and a quarter of dollars to the war loans, more than two thousand soldiers to the army and more than one thousand sailors to the navy, but for the defense of this city and the protection of the vast interests which depend upon its safety, no provision has as yet been made.

With a population of 81,129 in 1860, as shown by the U. S. Census of that year (an increase of 62,961 in twenty years), and with interests of incalculable national as well as local importance depending upon its safety, our city is almost entirely without arms.

We have in the public arsenal less than 200 muskets fit for service, and only ten pieces of field artillery, without a competent supply of harness and equipments. In the arsenal there are but few other articles of any value for active service, while there are in private hands, no artillery and only a few small-arms, most of them of different make, fashion and caliber, and unfitted for service in the field.

Fort Porter, the only defensive work in the city, or its neighborhood, is not completed or garrisoned, and the guns with which it was formerly partially armed, have within the past few months been taken from it to meet a pressing demand for heavy ordnance in the Department of the West. Even in its best estate it is supposed it could furnish quarters for not more than 300 men, and with a full armament and ample garrison it could be of little use except as one of a series of defensive works, and in connection with a strong infantry force in its neighborhood.

For the arming of Fort Porter and other batteries and works here, we need a considerable supply of coast guns and other heavy ordnance, and there should be a supply of ship's guns at Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Detroit and Oswego, in order that the best and strongest vessels of our mercantile marine might in an emergency be speedily converted into most formidable and efficient vessels of war. With a full supply of ship's guns and a few naval officers, the command of the Lakes could readily be secured—an object the importance of which can hardly be overrated.

For the erection of defensive works, the supply of heavy ordnance, including ship's guns, and for the authority to raise, arm, uniform and equip a regiment of foot artillery, we respectfully ask the favorable action of the General Government. For the supply of small arms and a small infantry force, for the better organization, drill and discipline of our militia force, we hope to obtain the favorable action of the State Government.

We are aware that we have imperfectly presented the importance and character of the measures which the public interest requires should be taken for the defense of this frontier, but we know that the military authorities can best determine what is most needed and best suited to accomplish the objects so desirable to be obtained, and we therefore respectfully ask that upon consideration of what we have suggested the War Department may take such measures as will ensure the proper defense and security of this City and of the great material interests to which we have referred, and that Fort Porter may, in view of the probable departure of the volunteers now encamped in its vicinity, be speedily garrisoned by one of the companies of regular artillery, which in consequence of its men being under parole, cannot now be ordered into service in the field.

We have the honor to be with great respect

Your Obedient Servants,

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman
[*and others.*]

BUFFALO'S MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

[BUFFALO, Jan. 10, 1862.]

To the SENATE *and* HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES *in Congress Assembled:*

The undersigned, a committee of the citizens of Buffalo in the State of New York, respectfully represent that there exists the most urgent reasons for the adoption of immediate

measures to protect the city and port of Buffalo, and the frontier in the vicinity, from hostile attacks from the neighboring Canadian shore.

For many years past we have lived upon terms of entire amity and active commercial intercourse, with scarcely a thought that our relations to the opposite shore could ever become hostile.

A great city has grown up within gun-shot of a territory owing allegiance to a foreign power, and nothing worthy of the name exists to protect its citizens from slaughter and its property from spoliation. A small unfinished fort, without guns and incapable of sheltering any considerable force, constitutes the only exhibition of military defense to the gateway between the eastern and western portions of the United States. Recent events in our national history are calculated to disturb the repose in which we have so long indulged.

Before the unhappy rebellion which now exists in the Southern States had assumed its present proportions, the British Gov't began to send troops and arms to Canada, and has not ceased to do so at the present time.

There is now a large force in the British Northwestern Provinces, and it is not even pretended that it is there to suppress rebellion or to repel invasion, or that the peace or security of any of the Provinces are menaced from any quarter. We are admonished, however, by the recent affair of the Trent that complications may arise at any moment in which these warlike preparations upon our border may have an alarming significance. Our defenseless state seems to invite aggression, and it is our duty at once to seek the means of avoiding attack as well as to make good our position, should one unhappily be made. A glance will show the importance of this point in the event of hostile relations with Great Britain. It is the key of the Lakes, and indispensably essential to the maintenance of the vast commerce which is borne upon them.

In hostile hands the immense flow of breadstuffs from the West to the East would be reduced to the capacity of one circuitous line of railroads, and the revenues and business of

the New York canals and railroads would dwindle into insignificance. The greatest portion of seven of the Western States would be deprived of a market for their surplus productions and the large trade now existing between them and the Eastern States would be nearly or quite destroyed. A reference to the Custom House books shows that for the past year there have been 6,966 vessels, American and foreign, entered at this port, and during the same period 6,900 vessels have cleared; that the tonnage of vessels entering is 2,987,691 and that of the vessels cleared 2,976,275, which exhibits an extent of commercial transactions that few of our Atlantic cities can surpass. The flour and grain received at this port during the year just closed is equivalent to 58,000,000 bushels and upwards. In view, therefore, of the magnitude of the business centering at this point, its defenseless condition, the indispensable importance of holding it for the security of the commerce of the Lakes and the communication between the Eastern and Western States, and the delicacy of our relations with the British Government, we earnestly ask the National Legislature to adopt without delay such measures of military and naval defense for this city and its vicinity as an enlightened forecast and true economy shall dictate. The nature and extent of such defenses we forbear to indicate as we deem it necessary to enlist the attention of Congress to the importance of the subject, so far as to secure such an appropriation as will enable the executive to adopt such measures as the exigency of the case imperatively demands.

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman,
[*and others.*]

TO THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

To the Honorable the LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

We the undersigned Committee of the Citizens of Buffalo most respectfully represent to your Honorable Body that

recent events which have occurred between the United States and Great Britain have called their attention to the entirely unprotected condition of our city and its vicinity for defense in any act of collision which might occur between the Canadas and the frontier of this State and particularly along the border of Lake Erie and the upper portion of the Niagara river.

The city of Buffalo contains about 85,000 inhabitants. Its territory lies for four miles along the shore of Lake Erie and six miles on the shore of the Erie Canal, and on the river front varying from half a mile to two miles distant from the opposite Canadian shore. In the harbor of Buffalo terminates the Erie Canal with its several connections of piers, basins, slips & docks, all constructed and owned by the State of New York, and here meeting the extensive commerce of the Upper Lakes.

From the harbor of Buffalo and immediately along the river shore flows the Erie Canal for six miles within the city limits, and for six miles further down to Tonawanda where it strikes inland towards Lockport.

Along this entire front the river is navigable for the largest vessels that float the Upper Lakes and for six miles within full range of artillery placed on the Canadian shore. The canal along the river is elevated four feet above the river level and is fed from Lake Erie to Montezuma, one half its length, the lake being the only supply on which it can at all times rely for its navigation. With the use of the canal and its appurtenances is connected the commercial prosperity of not only the city of Buffalo, but of every village, town and city on its line to Troy and Albany, and thence along the Hudson river to its grand emporium, the City of New York.

The value of this portion of the Erie Canal, with its extensive collateral works of harbor, basins, piers and docks, in connection with the waters of Lake Erie, and indispensable to the accommodation of its commerce, cannot be estimated.

If possessed by an enemy the immense property which now floats upon the canal—the water craft used for its transportation and the employment of many thousands of men—would either cease to exist or become of little value. The commerce of the canal embraces more or less the products and supplies of many western states, even those lying beyond the Mississippi river. It also extends eastward to states bordering the Atlantic Ocean, north and south of the boundaries of our own state, but of which at either extremity it holds the key and the western extremity at Buffalo not less, indeed more important to its revenues than the eastern. The worth of the Erie Canal as a paying investment to the State and the people cannot now be estimated, so far as its revenues will show, at less than fifty millions of dollars. Its prospective value in the usual condition of our country at peace within and without is scarcely within the bounds of computation, as a source of revenue to the State treasury and the welfare of the people who own and control its operations connected as it is with the rapidly growing wants and commerce of the untold millions of the rising States beyond us at the West.

The city of Buffalo has a real and personal property of an assessed value of 30,252,275 dollars, every dollar of it intimately connected with, and for the most part dependent upon, the canal and lake commerce and shipping. Buffalo is indispensable to the prosperity and revenues of the canal, and this canal is almost if not the only considerably productive property held by the State and on which it largely relies to maintain its supremacy as the chief commercial State of the Union.

Of the nearly 4,000,000 of dollars in tolls which our canals have paid during the past year into the State treasury, about eighteen hundred thousand dollars were paid in the city of Buffalo, not to mention the enormous tonnage transported east from Buffalo by the railroads which paid no toll to the State. In addition to the canal may be enumerated the chief western termini of the Central and the Erie rail-

roads, private corporations though they are, yet of great importance as assisting in the transit of our commerce with the western States and contributing indefinitely to our prosperity. These roads like the canal and its appurtenances are defenseless and unprotected against the attack of a powerful foreign enemy. Twenty years ago the General Government made an appropriation and erected a small fortification on the bluff overlooking the debouchure of Lake Erie into the Niagara river, incomplete in its original design, which contemplated expensive water batteries between it and Buffalo lighthouse. As a work of substantial defense to the vast interests we have enumerated, this fort is of little practical value. It holds not a gun of any description nor a pound of ammunition and is as defenseless against a hostile raid upon it as the dwellings which stand along the borders of the river. It is evident, therefore, that the valuable property belonging to the State, to the railroad corporations and to the inhabitants of our city as well as to the General Government, so far as any public defenses are concerned, are at the mercy of a foreign foe who might in a sudden and a powerful attack utterly destroy or render them useless; and the canal particularly, by riddling its outside pier and banks, might be thoroughly cut off from its supply of water for half its length. Such a contingency should no longer be permitted to exist. The grounds along the river along on the New York side are high and commanding, capable with a moderate expense in the erection of military works of thoroughly protecting all these valuable interests.

The Canada shore is scarcely so commanding as our own but susceptible of sustaining erections which under the improved artillery of modern warfare would destroy our property in the absence of sufficiently strong defenses on our side. We do not propose to argue with your honorable body, a subject so self-evident as the policy of protecting the property of the "people of the State of New York," but we do say with all due respect and submission that if our canals and their commerce be worth even but a small part of the

unenumerated millions set forth, they are worth the comparatively small additional sum now demanded.

We forbear to go into a detail as to the mode of protective defense suggested, but pray that in your wisdom a system commensurate with its importance will be devised, and although the recently impending hostile issue with a powerful foreign nation may, as, we trust, be happily averted, we cannot wisely delay the application of the statesmanlike maxim, "in time of peace prepare for war." All of which is respectfully submitted.

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman,
[*and others.*]

BUFFALO, Jan. 10, 1862.

BUFFALO, Jany 21, 1862.

JOHN WILKESON, *Esq.*
Secy, etc.,

SIR: Please to notify a meeting of the defence committee to be held at the Mayor's office, on Wednesday evening (Jany 22d), at 7 P. M., to consider the subject of a Naval Depot at this place.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman, etc.

TO SENATOR HARRIS.

BUFFALO, Feby 6, 1862.

Hon. IRA HARRIS,

MY DEAR SIR: By the directions of the "Committee of Defense of Buffalo" I transmitted to you some time since, a memorial to the War Department in reference to the defense of Buffalo, but having heard nothing from it, either from you or the Secretary of War, I fear my letter may have miscarried.

I have endeavoured to account for the delay in my own mind from the fact that business must have been somewhat interrupted by the resignation of Mr. Cameron and the appointment of Mr. Stanton.

Pardon me for again calling your attention to the subject.

Truly and Respectfully
Your obt st
MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman &c.

REGARDING A PROPOSED NAVAL DEPOT.

To the SELECT COMMITTEE *appointed by the House of Representatives on the Defense and Fortifications of the Great Lakes and Rivers.*

The memorial of the undersigned a committee appointed by the citizens of Buffalo on the defenses of said city

Respectfully shews that your memorialists are informed that you have under consideration a plan for establishing a naval depot on the Northern Lakes which your memorialists deem of very great importance, believing that Buffalo possesses many advantages over any other city on the Lakes, such for instance as its wealth and population, which will naturally be defended by the strongest defensive works, its convenient location for supplying directly, or by rail, all vessels on the Upper or Lower Lakes with despatch, its extensive foundries, at which cannon might readily be cast, its great convenience for building and repairing ships, its excellent harbor which readily admits the largest vessels that float upon the lakes; but as they cannot conceive that Congress will assume to fix the locality of such an establishment without an actual examination and report of competent officers, your memorialists simply beg leave to call your attention to the subject and respectfully to ask that any legislation on the subject may be such as to leave the site to a competent naval and military authority, and if such authority after a personal examination shall deem any other point on

the Lakes preferable to this, we shall most cheerfully acquiesce in the result, as we are chiefly anxious for the defense of the frontier.

We are your obt servants

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Chairman,
[*and others.*]

BUFFALO, Feby 15, 1862.

BUFFALO, Feby 15, 1862.

JOHN WILKESON, *Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR: Please have the enclosed letter signed by as many of the Committee as you can find & copy it with my letter to Mr. Spaulding into the book, and forward it to him.

Please to show Mr. Spaulding's letter to the Mayor and then put it on file.

In haste,
Truly yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

TO HON. ELBRIDGE G. SPAULDING.

BUFFALO, Feb. 15, 1862.

Hon. E. G. SPAULDING,

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 11th inst. in reference to a Naval Depot on the Lakes came to hand last evening and it seems to me most extraordinary that Congress should assume to fix the location of such an establishment for a thousand miles of lake shore without an official reconnoissance and report. I send you a brief memorial from our Defense Committee, which is all we can do.

I am in haste,

Truly Yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

Elbridge G. Spaulding represented the old 32d N. Y. District, which in 1862 was made the 30th District (Erie County) in the Thirty-first, Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, retiring March 3, 1863. In 1873 Erie County was again made the 32d District.

DEFENSE OF THE LAKES.

The following petition to Congress for enlarging the locks of the New York canals, that they might pass mail-clad vessels, was headed by ex-President Fillmore, signed by leading citizens of Buffalo of all parties, and presented on May 24, 1862, by the Hon. E. G. Spaulding, in the House of Representatives; it was duly referred to the Military Committee. It states briefly but clearly the merits of the proposition, which was subsequently discussed by the House in connection with the kindred bill already reported by that committee for enlarging the Illinois Canal to admit the passage of similar vessels into the lakes from the Mississippi:

The undersigned citizens of Buffalo earnestly solicit Congress, in addition to provision made and contemplated for the defence of the Northern Frontier, to adopt, without delay, the measures necessary to secure the enlargement of the locks of the Erie and Oswego Canals, to a size sufficient to pass vessels adequate to the defence of the Northern and Northwestern Lakes, pursuant to the provisions of an Act of the Legislature of New York, passed April 24, 1862. This work accomplished, vessels more powerful than the Monitor could pass from New York to Lakes Erie and Ontario, or from the Lakes to New York, or from either Lake to the other during the season of navigation.

The immense National interests involved in the military possession of these waters can be secured in no other mode at so small a cost of time and money. We deem it not extravagant to assert that, if the proposed work were accomplished, no attempt would be made to wrest the control of the Great Lakes from our National Government. The equality of access to them, which was designed to be secured by our treaty with Great Britain, has been wholly destroyed by the construction of the Canadian Canals; and we are not permitted to build and maintain War Vessels upon the

Lakes. The superiority of our commercial interests over those of our neighbors, but increases the danger of sudden attack, and is no defence whatever. We have no impediment to offer if, during the season of navigation, a fleet of British gunboats from the Atlantic shall propose to take possession of the entire chain of Lakes and connecting rivers.

A long line of flourishing cities and villages can thus be laid under contribution or be destroyed, while the commerce, exceeding in value the foreign trade of the nation, is either suspended or falls a prey to our ambitious rival. Is it the part of wisdom to incur such risks? No other nation ever manifested such indifference to its vital interests or overweening confidence in the preservation of pacific relations with the only power with which it was liable to serious differences. Recent events have shown how readily, and without notice, war clouds may obscure the horizon. Should we not profit by the lesson and be prepared for dangers that are always impending, while so considerable a portion of the continent owns European sway.

The National Government has expended large sums for the defence of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The interests of the North and West are equally entitled to such protection, and it is respectfully submitted, that by the adoption of the project in question, our inland frontier is amply defended, and a commerce of inestimable value to our Atlantic States and cities secured from hostile interruption.

MILLARD FILLMORE
HENRY W. ROGERS
GEORGE R. BABCOCK,
GUY H. GOODRICH
and many others.

MISCELLANEOUS

CORRESPONDENCE

1861 TO 1874

MILLARD FILLMORE'S

MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE

1861 TO 1874

"THE FILLMORE GUARDS."

BUFFALO, April 29, 1861.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF CO. "G," 74TH REGIMENT N. Y. S. M.

GENTLEMEN: I have your note of the 27th, informing me that at a meeting of Company "G" of the 74th Regiment, it was unanimously resolved that the company be styled "The Fillmore Guards," and requesting my permission to assume that name.

Having satisfied myself on enquiry that the company is composed of such men as will do honor to themselves, and consequently honor the name they have assumed, I not only yield my consent most cheerfully, but return my thanks for this unexpected mark of respect from the citizen soldiers of Buffalo.

I am respectfully yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

ON THE DEATH OF HON. SOLOMON G. HAVEN.

BUFFALO, Thursday morning, Dec. 26, 1861.

WILLIAM DORSHEIMER, *Esq.*

SIR: I received your note last evening, expressing a desire on behalf of some gentlemen of the Bar, that I should

attend their meeting to-day and make some remarks on the sad event of Mr. Haven's death.

Though I have many years since ceased to be a member of the Bar, yet I shall ever feel a professional sympathy with them which would certainly induce me to comply with their request, did I feel that I could speak in public on this mournful occasion. But to me Mr. Haven was more like a near and dear relation than a mere professional brother. Our social, professional and political relations, as you are well aware, have been of the most intimate character for more than a quarter of a century; and during that time there has never been an unkind word or hard thought on either side. His sudden death sends a pang through my heart that unmans me. I feel in his loss a sorrow and bereavement too deep for utterance in public, and I must beg of you to make my excuse to the meeting, and believe me in sorrow and grief,

Truly Yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

TO PUBLISHERS, IN QUEST OF A BOOK.

BUFFALO, June 18, 1862.

SIRS: Mr. O'Reilly published a history of Western New York some years since. I do not recollect its exact title but if you will send me a copy with the price, I will remit the amount. It will come free by mail.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

[*Messrs.* E. DARROW & BRO., *Rochester.*]

The book to which Mr. Fillmore referred was Henry O'Reilly's "Sketches of Rochester," published in 1838. Not having a copy on hand at that time, Mr. Darrow sent as a present Turner's "Phelps and Gorham Purchase" and some Rochester pamphlets, and received the following acknowledgment:

IN BEHALF OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BUFFALO, June 21, 1862.

MESSRS. E. DARROW & BROTHER, *Rochester:*

GENTLEMEN: I have your favor of the 19th and Turner's "History of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase" and the interesting pamphlets which you were so kind as to send me, for which I beg you to accept my sincere thanks.

We have just established a historical society in Buffalo and everything relating to the early history of Western New York, is very acceptable at this time, and I sincerely hope that you will be able to procure for me Mr. O'Reilly's history. With renewed thanks,

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

AVERSE TO NEWSPAPER NOTORIETY.

BUFFALO, July 1, 1862.

DEAR SIR: I have your letter asking permission to read mine to the "Young Men's Democratic Union Club" to the Club. If it be possible to do this without having it appear in the papers, I have no objection. It is not that I desire to conceal my sentiments, but I have a strong aversion to appearing in the public papers.

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

HORATIO F. AVERILL,

New York.

Original MS. owned by Mr. Thos. R. Proctor, Utica, N. Y.

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF BUFFALO CREEK.

[? July] 1862.

Messrs. A. M. CLAPP & CO.,

GENTLEMEN: As you propose to publish my address to the Buffalo Historical Society, I enclose a correspondence

which has taken place since I prepared that address, and which may be interesting to those who desire to know the origin of the name of "Buffalo Creek."

The letters of Doctor O'Callaghan are most valuable historical documents, and should be preserved by the Society.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

TO DR. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN.

BUFFALO, June 23, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: Mr. O. H. Marshall, at my request, addressed a letter to you a few days since, inquiring as to the origin of the name "Buffalo Creek," as applied to the stream running through this city, and as to the *date* of Demler's Map, published in the second volume of Doc. History of New York, at page 458; and he has shown me your very interesting letter of the 19th inst. in reply. I perceive in that, that you come to the conclusion that "the Map must have been drawn before 1773," and you say that Demler is styled *"Captain"* on the Map. If this be so in the original, it is not so in the copy as published.—On that he has no title but simply "Geo. Demler, 60th Regt."

I am very anxious to know *certainly* whether this Map was published before or after 1784, when the treaty of Fort Stanwix was made, and where the name of "Buffalo Creek" was applied to this stream; and, therefore, without presuming to question the correctness of your conclusion, I wish to call your attention to the fact that the Map also states "Latitudes from Mr. Elliott—Niagara, 43 degrees, 15 minutes; Falls, 43 degrees, 4 minutes, 25 seconds; *height,* 150 feet," &c.

Now the first quere is, should not this have been *Ellicott* instead of *Elliott,* for I find in Appleton's *"New American Cyclopedia,"* vol. VII., p. 104, a brief biography of Andrew Ellicott, in which it is stated, that "in 1789 he was appointed by President Washington to survey the land lying between Pennsylvania and Lake Erie; and *during that year* he made

the *first accurate measurement* of the Niagara river, from lake to lake, with the *height* of the *Falls* and the fall of the rapids."

If Demler refers to this measurement, which is said to have been the *first accurate one ever made* then, is it not conclusive evidence that his Map was made after 1789?

Pardon me for troubling you again on this point.

Most respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Dr. E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, *Albany.*

BUFFALO, June 30, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very greatly obliged for your very interesting and instructive letter of June 25, and Demler's and Ellicott's maps, which you were so kind to send me, and which I herewith return, with many thanks for the favor.

I think it most probable that your conjecture is right, that Demler's map was drawn with reference to the solicited grant to Rutherford, Duncan and others, as it bears marks of having been annexed to some other papers by wafers. But conceding that the map was drawn as early as 1761-2, the question still recurs, was the name "Buffaloe Creek" inscribed upon it at that time? It must be admitted that the statement of Ellicott's measurement of the Falls has been added to since 1789, and if the name "Buffalo Creek" was inscribed upon it in 1761-2, it is probably the oldest record of any kind on which it can be found. The word *Creek* as applied to a small river, is peculiarly an Americanism, and I suppose Demler was an Englishman, and if he named it, he would have called it Buffalo *River*. But it may be said that he inscribed the name which Americans applied to it; but at that time no Americans were here, or had been here, to give it a name.

But it is also to be noticed that we find on this map, the Tonawanda Creek laid down, but not named; but the name of "Buffaloe Creek" is in beautiful manuscript, while all the other names are in printed characters. Another thing seems

probable, that either this name was copied from the Treaty of 1784, or else the name in that treaty was copied from the map; for they are both spelled alike, and both misspelled. They are both spelled Buffaloe, and Buffalo, a mistake and coincidence not likely to occur when two men were writing independently of each other. I do not find that any Lexicographer ever spelled the word with a final *e*. I have a copy of Bailey's Dictionary, published in 1776, in which he says: "BUFFALO, a certain wild beast like an ox, common in America or Asia." Johnson gives the same orthography. Now if we are warranted in concluding that either the name in the treaty was copied from the map, or that on the map from the treaty, it is most probable that that on the map was never published, and there is no reason to suppose that it was ever seen by those who made the treaty, but the treaty was published, and therefore accessible to all; and this orthography was carried from the treaty into the United States laws in 1805, and a collection district established here by the name of Buffaloe Creek.

Prior to the treaty of 1784, which marked Buffaloe Creek as a boundary, it was of no more importance than Tonawanda (which was an Indian name meaning still water, or meeting of the waters); and if the name of Buffaloe Creek was inscribed by the maker of the map, and before the treaty of 1784, there is no reason why he should have omitted the name of Tonawanda, for the Tonawanda Creek was more likely to attract attention, being on the usually travelled route up the river, than the Buffalo Creek, which was away from it.

I think you will also perceive, by a magnifying glass, that the ink in "Buffaloe Creek" is much paler than that in "Meadow I" and "Beaver I" and, as before remarked, the chirography is entirely different. Indeed, judging from the chirography alone, I should say that "Duncan's House," "Rifts," "Buffaloe Creek," and "By Geo. Demler, 60th Regt." were all written by different persons from the one who made the map, and wrote or printed upon it the names of places.

But I do not profess to be much of a critic on handwriting, and may be mistaken.

The water-mark, could we fix its date, would only show when the paper was made, but not when the map was, much less when additions were made.

The difference of style between this map and that by Joseph Ellicott which you sent, may be the difference of skill of the drawers as I am sure I could not draw as good a map as that of Demler.

Finally, before your first letter was written to Mr., Marshall, I had prepared an address for the Historical Society, in which I had ventured to offer a *conjecture* as to the origin of the name Buffalo Creek, and I shall deliver it as prepared, and if printed, will send you a copy. In conclusion permit me to add, that I have no pride of opinion on the subject, and am only anxious to find the true origin of the name, and shall be most happy to receive any further light which you may be able to throw on that point.

I am, with great respect,

Your obliged friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D., *Albany.*

P. S. Pardon me for adding, for the truth of history that Andrew Ellicott was the elder brother of Joseph and Benjamin.

On the subject of the above and the preceding letter, *see ante*, pp. 71-77. Dr. O'Callaghan's replies to Mr. Fillmore were printed in the Buffalo *Express*, July 3, 1862. The Buffalo Historical Society preserves among its manuscripts several long letters written to Mr. Fillmore by Nathan Kite of Philadelphia, and O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, on the same general subject—the origin of the name of Buffalo, and other data on early maps of the region.

ON RECEIPT OF A TRUST FUND.

BUFFALO, July 8, 1862.

Messrs. CHEESEMAN & DODGE:

GENTLEMEN: Dr. Scott has just handed me your letter of the 7th, including your check for $100 for *"the support of the Constitution and the laws."*

I have generally declined all fiduciary trusts, and should do so now, but the noble patriotism which prompted your generous donation compels me to accept it, and to assure you that I will endeavor to apply it to the objects indicated in your letter.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

In July, 1862, the Buffalo Common Council having voted against giving aid to the organization of a new regiment, Messrs. Cheeseman & Dodge, livery-stable proprietors of Buffalo, sent a long letter to Mr. Fillmore, enclosing $100, which they asked him to use toward the equipment of a new regiment, if practicable, or if not, to devote it to hospital work.

DANIEL WEBSTER'S LAST LETTER.

BUFFALO, Nov. 17, 1862.

GUY H. SALISBURY, *Esq.*,

MY DEAR SIR: Enclosed you will find the last letter written by Mr. Webster before his death, which fact is verified by the letter of his private secretary Mr. Abbott [Abbot], which I also enclose. They are donations to the Buffalo Historical Society, to be preserved among its autographs.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

Mr. Salisbury was secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society. The enclosures referred to, being of exceptional interest, here follow. In this connection it may be noted that a fine copy of Ames' celebrated painting, "The Death of Webster," engraved by C. Mottram, which was in Mr. Fillmore's possession for many years, is now owned by the Buffalo Historical Society, the gift of the late Joseph P. Dudley.

[ENCLOSURES IN ABOVE LETTER.]

MARSHFIELD, Oct. 21, 1852.
Thurs Eve, Oct. 21, 1852.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

SIR: You will be deeply pained to learn that within the last few hours, the disease under which the Secretary of State is laboring has taken an unfavorable turn, and that no hopes are entertained for his recovery.

The last letter, written with his own hand, was addressed by him to you on Monday.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Most respectfully your obedient servant
G. J. ABBOT.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

From an Original Daguerreotype in the Possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Monday morng. 18 Oct. [1852]

My Dear Sir: By the blessing of Providence, I have had another, comparatively, good night; the afternoon attack coming later, & not lasting so long; & then an excellent sleep. At this hour, (10 o'clock) I feel easy, & strong, & as if I could go into the Senate, & make a speech! At one, I shall put all away—be obliged to go to bed, at three, & go thro the Evening Spasms. What all this is to come to, God only knows. My Dear Sir, I should love to pass this last month of your Administration, with you, around your Council Board. But let not this embarrass you. Consider my Resignation as always before you, to be accepted, any moment you please. I hope God, in his mercy, may preserve me; but his will be done! I have evry thing right about me, & the weather is glorious.

I do not read the newspapers; but my wife sometimes reads to me the contents of some of them.

I fear things do not look very well for our side.

Yrs truly always,

Danl Webster

To The President.

RELATIVE TO THE FOREGOING.

Buffalo, Nov. 18, 1862.

Mr. Alfred T. Goodman,

Sir: In reply to your request for a copy of Mr. Webster's last letter, I would state that it is no longer in my possession, but in the custody of Guy H. Salisbury, Esq. as Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Respectfully yours,

Millard Fillmore.

Webster collection, Library of Congress.

CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY.

Mr. Fillmore having received an invitation from the city council of Nashville, Tenn., to join in the coming celebration of Washington's birthday, in that city, sent the following reply:

Buffalo, Feb. 9, 1863.

Sir: I regret exceedingly that it is out of my power to accept your invitation on behalf of the City Council of Nashville to join with them and its citizens in celebrating the 131st anniversary of Washington's birthday.

I write nothing for publication, but I cannot forbear to say that no man has a higher reverence for the character of

Washington than I possess; and had his paternal and patriotic advice been followed, North and South, the country would not now be bleeding at every pore from an unnatural and most calamitous civil war, where brother is arrayed against brother and father against son.

I recollect with infinite pleasure the delightful visit I had in your beautiful city in 1854, but I fear that is all now changed and I can never hope to visit your city again under such favorable auspices; but still I cherish the recollection of that visit, and shall to my dying day.

Be so kind as to make my profound acknowledgments to the City Council for remembering me on this interesting occasion, and assure them that they have my earnest prayers for returning prosperity by the restoration of our once glorious Union in harmony and peace.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ABRAM MYER, *Esq., Chairman, etc.*

A SIGNED DOCUMENT.

The Buffalo Historical Society hereby leases to Doctor Lewis Dodge the front room in the office now occupied by said Society on Court Street, Buffalo, reserving the right to occupy the same whenever desired for meetings of said Society or of the Executive Board, and also as a passage way to and from the rooms of said Society, for which the said Dodge agrees to pay to said Society monthly in advance, seven dollars for each of the fall and winter months, and six dollars for each of the spring and summer months, which is to be deemed a compensation for the gas used in said room. This lease to terminate when either party shall give 10 days notice to do so, or the lease to said Society shall expire, or said Dodge shall fail to make said payments promptly as required by this lease.

MILLARD FILLMORE, *Prest.*

Sept. 1, 1863.

Original MS. owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

TO COL. N. G. THAYER.

BUFFALO, July 27, 1864.

Col. N. G. THAYER,

DEAR SIR: The undersigned have learned with pleasure that you have accepted invitations to address the citizens of some of the cities along the line of the Central Railroad in this State, on the subject of the condition of your neighbors in East Tennessee, whose loyalty and devotion to Union and Constitutional liberty have commanded our highest admiration and respect, and whose sacrifices and sufferings have excited our warmest sympathies.

We would, therefore, be pleased to have you visit and address the citizens of Buffalo at such time as will suit your convenience.

We remain, yours truly and respectfully,

MILLARD FILLMORE
and others.

THE GOVERNOR APPEALED TO, FOR MILITARY PROTECTION.

BUFFALO, August 9, 1864.

To His Excellency HORATIO SEYMOUR,
Governor of New York.

SIR: As citizens of Buffalo we deem it a duty, which we owe alike to our city and country at large, to make an earnest appeal to your Excellency, and through you to the General Government, for military protection against an apprehended raid of rebels from Canada to burn our city and plunder its inhabitants. We have learned through the Provost Marshall's [*sic*] office here, that a detective has been employed by that officer in Canada for some seven weeks past watching the movements of the rebels there, and that recently they seem to be congregating on the Niagara frontier, apparently with some design of making a strike—

and Buffalo so rich in its stores of grain and merchandise, and so utterly defenceless, offers many temptations to a marauding force, composed of rebels from the Southern States and deserters, from our own army, many of whom, we are informed, are utterly depraved, in most destitute circumstances and ready for an expedition that promises devastation and plunder with a hope of escape.

After consultation by a few of our most prominent citizens, we have concluded that it was best to address your Excellency privately, by letter, lest a more public manifestation of our defenceless condition might invite an attack before we were prepared to meet it. We beg leave to call your attention particularly to our situation.

Our location is peculiar. We occupy the narrow strait through which most of the commerce between the East and West must pass, and it needs only to look at the twenty-seven elevators filled with grain, and which are indispensable to transfer for the thirty or forty millions of bushels that must arrive here before the close of navigation, to see that, if these be destroyed, it will be a national calamity, the effects of which will be felt to the remotest parts of the United States, and they are necessarily of that combustible material easily ignited, and once on fire they are so high that there can be little hope of extinguishing the flames.

It is impossible to guard this frontier by anything short of a military force, acting under military discipline, and while we would not presume to dictate what should be done, we would respectfully suggest that means be immediately taken by the military authorities to ascertain more definitely, by competent and skillful detectives, the plans and intentions of these rebels; and that the Canadian authorities—whom we believe to be friendly—be invited to co-operate in preventing a raid from Canada on the United States, and above all, that a military force, adequate to our protection, be placed on this frontier. If troops cannot be spared from other places, we hope and trust that those raised here, comprising the 65th and 74th regiments, may be suffered to remain until their places can be supplied by others.

Hoping that this communication will receive prompt attention, we remain your Excellency's

Most obedient servants,
WM. G. FARGO, *Mayor*
MILLARD FILLMORE
and others.

GLOOMY FOREBODINGS FOR THE COUNTRY.

The following letters from Millard Fillmore were read at the Keystone Club Headquarters, Walnut St., Philadelphia, in the fall of 1864:

BUFFALO, August 12, 1864.

JOHN BELL ROBINSON, *Esq.*,

DEAR SIR: I have yours asking permission to publish my letter, but I have such an aversion to appearing in the papers that I cannot consent; but if you think it can do any good to the McClellan cause to show it to your friends or read it at your meetings, you are at liberty to do so.

Truly yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

The letter referred to above is the following:

BUFFALO, August 12, 1864.

JOHN BELL ROBINSON, *Esq.*,

DEAR SIR: Your kind favor of the 30th ult., came to hand on the 6th inst., and now I have just received yours of the 8th, and while I fully and gratefully appreciate your kind intentions, I hesitate about responding to your inquiries, chiefly because I am unwilling to write anything for publication.

While I take the deepest interest in the fate of my country, and look with painful apprehension to the future, yet I have retired from public life, and can hardly appear again before the public even by letter, without having my motives

impugned and misrepresented; and therefore I have invariably refused to attend any public meeting, or write anything for publication.

I sincerely feel that the country is on the verge of ruin, and unless the policy which governs our national affairs can be changed, we must soon end in national bankruptcy and a military despotism. Perhaps the former cannot now be averted, but the latter may; but in my opinion the policy can only be changed by a change of Administration.

Everything seems to have been done to unite and exasperate the South and intensify its hatred to the North, so as to render a union impossible; but still I am not without hope that a change of Administration may change the feelings of the South towards us; and eventually bring about a restored Union, and an honorable peace; but I have no faith in that policy which proposes to exterminate the South, or hold it by military subjugation. To maintain this Union by force of arms, merely, would require a standing army that would exhaust all the resources of the nation, and necessarily convert our Government into a military despotism. This is a result that no patriot can contemplate without horror. But I have said more than I intended, and you will please to consider it private, and believe me,

Yours &c.,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

PRONOUNCES FOR M'CLELLAN.

BUFFALO, Aug. 17, 1864.

To H. KETCHUM,

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 13th came to hand during my absence, but I was greatly delighted to see by the papers that you had so large and enthusiastic a meeting for McClellan. I seriously hope that he will receive the nomination by the Chicago Convention. I see my name occasionally alluded to in connection with that Convention, but I cannot think there is anything of it, for I believe that all

know that I do not desire the nomination, and I cannot think a great number desire me to have it. . . .

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The above letter was widely published.

DECLINING TO SHARE IN THE CAMPAIGN.

BUFFALO Sept 5. [1864]

GENTLEMEN: Please to accept my thanks for the honor you have done me by inviting me to be present at a ratification meeting to be held in Union Square on the 8th inst., and to address the meeting.

While I shall with great pleasure cast my vote for General McClellan and Mr. Pendleton, yet I regard myself as wholly withdrawn from party contests, and therefore I attend no political meetings, make no speeches and write no letters for publication.

With my best wishes for the success of your ticket—for on that, in my opinion, depends the salvation of our country,

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Messrs. F. H. CHURCHILL, HENRY W. ALLEN, SAMUEL BOARDMAN, JOHN P. NAGLE, JOHN BULLEY, JR., JOHN H. DECKER, *Committee* [*New York*].

DISAPPROVES OF THE LINCOLN ADMINISTRATION.

BUFFALO, Sept. 28. [1864]

F. H. CHURCHILL, *Esq.*,

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 26th has this moment come to hand, in which you request my permission to publish my letter to you of the 5th inst.

That letter, like all letters of mine, was intended to be private; not because it contained any sentiment which I

wished to conceal, but simply because I had a great aversion to appearing in the newspapers; but you seem to think its publication might do good to the conservative cause—in which I confess I feel a very deep interest—and as I have received similar information from other sources I have reluctantly come to the conclusion to permit it to be published.

The fact is, that I see no reasonable prospect of a restoration of this Union—the object nearest my heart—without a change of the avowed policy of this administration; and I see no prospect of changing the policy but by a change of the administration itself. Hence I am for a change, and I look upon the election of Gen. McClellan as the last hope for the restoration of the Union, an honorable peace, and the security of personal liberty; and this you may publish to the world as my views on the pending crisis. But I shall enter into no argument in support of my opinion, nor do I intend hereafter to depart from that silence which I impose upon myself from an unwillingness to mingle, or seem to mingle, in party politics; for I do not consider myself as belonging to any party, and I feel wholly indifferent to any party success as such, and am only anxious for the honor and welfare of my beloved, but bleeding and suffering country.

I am, in great haste, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

PREDICTS "NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY."

The following note was written by Mr. Fillmore to a Mr. Douglas, of Brooklyn, in November, 1864:

DEAR SIR: Your kind favor is received, &c. I sincerely feel that the country is on the verge of ruin, and unless the policy which governs our national affairs can be changed, we must soon end in national bankruptcy and a military despotism. Perhaps the former cannot be arrested, but the latter may; but in my opinion the policy can only be changed by a change of administration. Hence I am for a change, and I look upon the election of General McClellan as the

last hope for the restoration of the Union and honorable peace and the security of personal liberty; and this you may publish to the world as my views on the pending crisis. I shall, with great pleasure, cast my vote for Gen. McClellan and Mr. Pendleton. . . .

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ACKNOWLEDGING AN INVITATION.

BUFFALO, July 6, 1865.

Messrs. BRYANT, STRATTON & CO.:

GENTLEMEN: I am honored by the receipt of your invitation to attend the Second Annual Convention of "The Proprietors and members of Bryant, Stratton & Co.s International Commercial Colleges," to be held at Chicago, on the 11th of this month, and I regret that I cannot accept it.

It would, indeed, give me great pleasure to be present on so interesting an occasion, and to do anything in my power to promote the objects you have in view. That such an institution was greatly needed admits of no doubt and while I cannot speak from personal knowledge of your success, yet I am happy to say that our business men with whom I have converse—and who are the best judges—speak highly of it.

With my best wishes for your prosperity, I am,

Truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN 1865.

BUFFALO, Sept. 12, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 7th and I requested the Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society, Dr. W. R. Scott, to send you a copy of the Constitution and by-laws. We shall be most happy to receive any contributions you may be pleased to make. The Society is quite prosperous.

Ex-Governor Carke's [*sic*] address is "Myron H. Clarke [Clark], New York City."

In haste, truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

A. T. GOODMAN, *Esq.*

Original MS. owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

The above illustrates not only the sort of slip to which any letter-writer is liable, but the genius Mr. Fillmore had for misspelling names when apparently he was taking special pains with them.

PROPOSING A COMPLIMENTARY DINNER.

BUFFALO, October 7, 1867.

General WILLIAM F. BARRY, *U. S. Army:*

DEAR SIR: Your personal friends in this city have learned with unfeigned regret that you have been relieved from duty as Commander of the Troops on the Northern Frontier, and are about to join your Regiment in California. Mindful of your eminent services as Chief of Artillery in organizing that Department of the Army of the Potomac, and of your gallantry in the earlier battles of the war; of the honorable part you bore, in like capacity, in the memorable campaign of General Sherman's army in Tennessee, Georgia and the two Carolinas; of your unblemished record as an officer, both in the field and in Bureau service; of your later and not less successful discharge of the delicate and responsible duties incident to the position you are about to resign—mindful of all this, they are unwilling that you should leave for another post without tendering to you some expression of their appreciation of your character, both as a soldier and a gentleman.

They beg, therefore, that you will name a day when it will be agreeable to yourself to meet your friends at a dinner, that they may thus have an opportunity of individually assuring you of their high personal esteem and of wish-

ing you the prosperity and honor which you cannot fail both to deserve and receive in the future.

Very sincerely,
Your cordial friends,
MILLARD FILLMORE, *and others.*

TO A BUFFALO EDITOR.

Feby 11, 1868.

MR. [JAMES D.] WARREN: If you have room it seems to me this speech is worth publishing, but if not please return it as I wish to preserve it.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The above note is written in pencil on the title-page of a Reconstruction pamphlet—"Speech of Hon. James Brooks, of New York, in the House of Representatives, December 18, 1867"—in the library of the Buffalo Historical Society. It was sent to the editor of the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* who evidently returned it without printing.

ON RECEIVING HALLECK'S POEMS.

BUFFALO, New York, November 24, 1868.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I had just taken up my pen to thank you for an elegant copy of Fitz-Greene Halleck's Poems (received through Messrs. Breed & Lent) when your favor of yesterday was handed to me.

I owe you many thanks for this most acceptable present. You have done this charming Poet ample justice and yourself great credit as Editor; while the topography [typography], paper and binding speak well for the publishers, Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.

I have read and reread many of these beautiful poems, which come up almost as fresh as though I had never seen them before. It seems to add to their beauty to find them in such clear type and on paper so agreeable to the eye. But I confess myself a little surprised that Mr. Halleck should have supposed Red Jacket to be a Tuscarora chief or king,

and that he inherited his official distinction. He was a Seneca, born on the banks of Seneca lake, rising to his chieftainship and great influence over his nation by the power of his own unsurpassed eloquence, and by that alone, as he was never distinguished as a warrior. However, the mistake is merely historical and does not detract from the beauty of the poem.

I am truly your obliged friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Gen. JAMES GRANT WILSON,
New York.

Original MS. owned by Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson, New York.

AVERSE TO WINTER TRAVEL.

BUFFALO, Dec. 9, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your favor of the 7th informing me that another meeting of the Commissioners has been called for the 15th, and kindly repeating your invitation to Mrs. F. and myself to visit you at that time.

Before receiving your letter I had been notified of the meeting, and expressed my regret at my inability to attend. If I was sure of good weather and Mrs. F. was able to perform the journey, I should certainly discharge my duty by attending and enjoy the great pleasure of making you a visit; but as you will see by a slip which I enclose, giving an account of the recent storm, that there is no reliance to be placed upon the weather, and I look with dread upon the idea of being buried in a snowdrift or thrown from the track and burned up in the car. The truth is, that I am more reluctant to undertake a journey of 600 miles in winter weather than I used to be, and I am very happy to hear that my presence will not probably be necessary to form a quorum.

Mrs. F. is much better able to describe her condition than I am and she will write Mrs. Harris. But I can not forbear to add that when the spring opens and the ground is settled

so that travelling is reasonably safe and pleasant, that I intend taking a journey with Mrs. F. and if agreeable to you and Mrs. Harris we shall take great pleasure in making you a visit, but if not then convenient for you, we shall certainly expect to see you here.

With kind regards to Mrs. H.

I am truly yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Hon. I. HARRIS.

Original MS. owned by Mr. Geo. H. Richmond, New York City.

TO THE PAINTER OF "THE TRIAL OF RED JACKET."

BUFFALO, January 14, 1869.

MR. J. M. STANLEY,

DEAR SIR: Understanding that you contemplate removing your picture of the "Trial of Red Jacket" to the city of New York at the close of the present week and believing from the short time it has been on exhibition here many of our citizens who desire have not yet seen it, we therefore respectfully request, if at all consistent with other arrangements, that you permit it to remain here on exhibition another week and thus oblige many who desire a further opportunity to view this splendid painting, the subject of which is so intimately connected with the history of Buffalo.

Respectfully yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE

and others.

James M. Stanley, born in Canandaigua, Jan. 17, 1814, spent his boyhood in Buffalo, while yet the Senecas lived on Buffalo Creek; became familiar with their habits, dress and character, and must often have seen Red Jacket and other leaders of the Seneca nation. His career as an artist gave him residence in many places—Detroit, Chicago, among the Indians west of the Mississippi from Minnesota to New Mexico, in the Sandwich Islands, and, in later years, in New York and Washington. He died in Detroit, Apr. 10, 1872. His most notable work, a collection of 152 portraits of Indian chiefs, was burned in the Smithsonian Institution in 1865. His greatest existing work, the so-called "Trial of Red Jacket," records a dramatic scene said to have occurred on the banks of Buffalo Creek in 1802, when Red Jacket, charged by Cornplanter and The Prophet with sorcery, successfully defended himself in a three-hours'

speech. The canvas, six by nine feet in size, contains seventy-two figures of Indians and whites, and is especially valuable as a record of Seneca costume. It is owned by Mr. Stanley's heirs, but since 1895 has been hung in the Historical Building, Buffalo.

TO GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON.

BUFFALO, September 21, 1869.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I have your favor of the 18th inst. and congratulate you most cordially upon your anticipated marriage to the descendant of Peter Stuyvesant's sister Madame Bayard: and trust that it may be my good fortune at some future time to make the acquaintance of Mrs. Wilson. Please to present to her my compliments and best wishes for her happiness.

My few remarks at the Baron Von Humboldt celebration were of no importance, but I take pleasure in sending you a copy. Believe me, Very truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE.

To GEN. JAS. GRANT WILSON.

Original MS. owned by Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson, New York City.

TO LYMAN C. DRAPER.

BUFFALO, Oct. 25, 1869.

LYMAN C. DRAPER, *Esq.*

DR. SIR: In compliance with your request of Oct. 21st, I enclose you the proceedings in this city in celebrating the Birth day of Baron Humboldt. My share in the matter was merely incedental [*sic*] and not worth noticing.

Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

MS. collections, Wisconsin Historical Society.

NATURAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION ADVOCATED.

To the Honorable, THE COMMON COUNCIL OF BUFFALO:

The undersigned in common with all good citizens of Buffalo, are proud of its public schools, and are happy to

observe in your honorable body that liberal spirit which has made them what they are and will sieze every opportunity to invigorate and improve them. The Central School is the crown of the system, the keystone of the arch. We most respectfully submit to your better judgment the following suggestions for its elevation. The more attractive and useful you make it, the more active you make a generous emulation in the common schools. Is it not desirable that the rudiments of the natural sciences should be taught there; that our youth should know something of the composition and history of the earth on which they are to suffer, enjoy and labor, and of the mechanism of their own bodies and of the construction and interconnections and dependencies of the vast variety of life, animal and vegetable, with which the good God beautifies and utilizes the earth? Would it not be a great enduring honor to Buffalo to be among the first to make its chief school a fountain of this precious knowledge?

The Buffalo Society of Natural Science[s] does a credit to our city. It has no permanent endowment. It has so far been supported by the annual contributions of its members, and by occasional benefactions of our wealthier citizens. It has accumulated respectable collections in every department of natural history and has always kept those collections freely open for the enjoyment and improvement of the public.

It desires to make them as serviceable as possible. It has for its custodian a gentleman of varied and extensive scientific attainment, and perfectly competent to instruct in several of the sciences. It embraces other members, who, for the Society's sake, would be willing to impart instruction in other sciences. What otherwise the Society would gladly do freely, its pecuniary condition demands that it should accept a moderate compensation for. We understand that it will, that it desires to supply the Central School with lectures, illustrated by specimens sufficient to give the student accurate knowledge of the principles of natural science; and we respectfully pray your Honorable

Body to entertain this subject and in your wisdom to make some fitting arrangements by which the Society may be so honorably aided.

MILLARD FILLMORE
E. G. SPAULDING
WM. G. FARGO
and others.

The above communication to the Buffalo Common Council was referred to the Committee on Schools.

IN BEHALF OF MRS. FILLMORE.

BUFFALO, Feby. 4, 1870.

MAJ.-GENL BARRY:

DEAR SIR: Pray excuse me for troubling you with an inquiry. Mrs. Fillmore's physician has advised her to seek a milder latitude than Buffalo in which to spend the spring months, and some have recommended Norfolk; but I am unable to ascertain whether there is a good, comfortable hotel there; and presuming you can inform me I venture to make the inquiry, and also what is the best route to reach there. Mrs. Fillmore joins me in kindest regards to yourself and family.

Truly yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

TO GOVERNOR JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

BUFFALO, July 13, 1871.

His Excellency JOHN T. HOFFMAN,

SIR: The telegraphic reports have just brought the intelligence that you have successfully protected the Orangemen in their undoubted right to celebrate the *Battle of the Boyne.*

Permit me to congratulate you and the country for this glorious triumph of law over mob rule, and to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the moral courage and true statesmanship which your conduct on this trying occasion has displayed.

I am sorry for the poor, deluded victims who have suffered the just punishment due to their crimes for attempting to invade the rights and abridge the liberty of their fellow-citizens; and I am more sorry for the wounded and dying who have so nobly shed their blood in vindicating the majesty of the law by protecting the innocent. I trust they will receive their reward. This example is an awful warning to the lawless and will hereafter save life and property. Let all understand that the laws must be sustained though the Heavens do fall.

I write in haste and trust you will pardon me for saying thus much. I could not say less and I need not say more than that.

I am your obliged fellow-citizen and servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by Mr. Adrian H. Joline, New York City.

IN THE HUMANE SOCIETY MOVEMENT.

BUFFALO, Aug. 31, 1871.

Rev. D. H. MÜLLER.

DEAR SIR: In behalf of the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" we respectfully request you to repeat the sermon on the subject recently delivered by you at Grace M. E. Church.

MILLARD FILLMORE
and others.

In compliance with the above request, the Rev. Dr. Müller delivered his sermon, "A plea for the dumb brute," at the Central Presbyterian Church, Sept. 3, 1871.

THE GROSVENOR LIBRARY IN 1871.

Mr. Fillmore, as president of the board of trustees of the Grosvenor Library in Buffalo, prepared its first annual report after it was opened to the public, for the year 1871, to which was prefixed the following statement:

The undersigned, trustees of the Grosvenor library, respectfully report:

That they, together with Lorenzo K. Haddock, were appointed trustees of the said library Dec. 5, 1870, and entered upon the duties of their office about the first of January, 1871. That the said Lorenzo K. Haddock died on the 20th day of April, 1871, and on the 24th Nelson K. Hopkins was appointed to fill the vacancy.

Deeming it important to put the library in immediate operation, they commenced the purchase of such books as they thought would be useful to those for whom the library was intended, and it now consists of some 10,000 volumes; but as the accession catalogue is not yet completed, they cannot give the exact number.

It was found that more cases were required, and they were duplicated, and cases were procured for large illustrated works, that they might be secured under lock and key. Chairs, tables, map-racks, atlas stands, &c., were added, and, for general convenience, water was introduced. To accommodate those who might wish to consult the Library in the evening, gas was also introduced.

The foundation fund bequeathed by the will of the late Seth Grosvenor amounts to $30,000, which is invested in city bonds bearing 7 per cent. interest, and to which the Trustees, for the present, have determined to add from the accumulation $10,000 more. The books purchased are chiefly for reference, and generally in the English language; but some are in Latin, Greek, French and German, and they intend soon to add more in the German language.

The financial condition of the Library will appear by the schedule annexed. All of which is respectfully submitted.

MILLARD FILLMORE
G. W. HEACOCK

Feb. 1, 1872.

The detailed balance-sheet shows, in its totals, a book fund of $61,022.42; city appropriation fund, $7,549.88; and building fund, $22,450.40.

The Grosvenor Library was founded by Seth Grosvenor, an early merchant of Buffalo. The last years of his life were spent in New York, where he died; but he remembered Buffalo in his will and bequeathed to the city thirty thou-

sand dollars, the interest of which was to be used for the purchase of books that would have a tendency "to improve the rising generation." Ten thousand dollars additional was appropriated towards the erection of a fireproof library building. The Grosvenor Library was chartered by the State April 11, 1859, and a board of trustees was appointed, which cared for the fund and made temporary arrangements for the institution. A subsequent board of trustees, appointed in December, 1870, consisted as above stated of Millard Fillmore, Chairman; the Rev. G. W. Heacock and L. K. Haddock. It was under the administration of the board headed by Mr. Fillmore that the institution made its first substantial growth in books and came to be of marked usefulness in the community. At the time of Mr. Fillmore's administration, it occupied rooms in the Buffalo Savings Bank Building, where it continued until the present building was erected.

TO GEN. JAS. GRANT WILSON.

BUFFALO, May 13, 1872.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Your favor of the 8th inst. has just come to hand, as I am on the point of leaving with Mrs. Fillmore for New York, where I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you, and then I shall be most happy to do anything for you in my power. We shall stop at the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

Believe me in haste,

Truly yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

Gen. JAS. GRANT WILSON,
New York.

Original MS. owned by Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson, New York.

HELPING NEWSBOYS AND BOOTBLACKS.

BUFFALO, Nov. 9, 1872.

MR. DAVID E. BROWN, *President,*
Young Men's Association, Grace M. E. Church:

DEAR SIR: We learn with much pleasure that your Association has determined to give the news-boys and boot-blacks of our city a Thanksgiving dinner. Not only shall we countenance and encourage the undertaking by availing ourselves

of the invitation to be present on the occasion, but we shall deem it a privilege to contribute towards the supply of the table, as we doubt not that many others of our citizens will do; and as your Association has taken the initiative in this work, we would beg to suggest that you adopt measures for the establishment of some permanent help for this class of boys, perhaps a home or lodging-house, or other form of aid such as you may deem most advantageous and to this fund we will gladly contribute also.

MILLARD FILLMORE
and others.

The Young Men's Association of Grace M. E. Church originated the Thanksgiving dinners for Buffalo newsboys and bootblacks. Out of that enterprise, ultimately grew the Newsboys' and Bootblacks' Home. No name has been more prominent in the history of this good work in Buffalo than that of David E. Brown.

TO MR. LARS G. SELLSTEDT.

MR. SELSTED [*sic*]

I have a severe cold which has confined me to my room for two days, and I am afraid to sit this morning. If agreeable, I will go on Monday at 9½ A. M.

In haste

Truly yours
MILLARD FILLMORE

Saturday, Dec. 27 [? 1872]

Original MS. owned by the Chicago Historical Society.
Mr. Sellstedt at this time was painting Mr. Fillmore's portrait.

ON THE DEATH OF HON. JAMES BROOKS.

BUFFALO, May 3, 1873.

MY DEAR MRS. BROOKS: I have just received the painful intelligence of your lamented husband's death; and although I was in some measure prepared for this sad event by the newspaper reports of his illness, yet I now feel that I did not fully realize it.

He was my old, my esteemed friend, and as such I may be permitted to mingle my tears with yours at this irreparable loss. I know that nothing which I can say can assuage your grief, and the consolations of the Christian's hope can alone bring relief, and these you fortunately possess.

But I have felt the pangs of bereavement, the darkness that settles on everything when the tenderest ties of life are sundered, and, therefore, I can sympathize most deeply with you in this bereavement. But it must be a consolation to know that he died universally esteemed and respected, and that in his last moments he was surrounded and comforted by his family and friends.

Sincerely your friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

[*To* MRS. JAMES BROOKS]

THE HUMANE SOCIETY MOVEMENT.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Nov. 15, 1873.

REV. D. H. MUELLER:

DEAR SIR: Mrs. H. R. Seymour showed me a letter from you stating that there was a movement in Rochester to organize a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and that an adjourned meeting would be held on Monday the 17th instant, and expressing a wish that several persons whom you named from Buffalo (including myself), would attend the adjourned meeting. I hope some of those named will be able to attend, but I regret to say that it will not be convenient for me to do so. But I cannot forego the expression of gratification I feel at your announcement. I most sincerely congratulate you and the citizens of Rochester upon this movement. How a Christian community can stand idly by and see the cruelty and torture which are daily afflicted upon the brute creation is to me inconceivable.

But like all reformers, those who engage in it must be prepared to meet the cold indifference of the thoughtless

multitude, the ridicule and scoff of the reckless, and the savage malignity of the cruel; but it is a good cause. Let none shrink from the performance of their duty, and public sentiment will at length sustain them, and the result will be that much suffering of the dumb animals, which have no tongue to tell their grievances, will be prevented.

Judging from my own experience here, I think that the clergy and the ladies may do much to aid you in this noble work. The Rev. Dr. Lord was the first in this city to preach from the pulpit humanity and kindness to all of God's creatures, and he was followed by several others, and I am satisfied that the preaching had a most salutary effect, but I must say to the shame of my own sex here (with many honorable exceptions), that the ladies have been the chief workers in this good cause, and among these Mrs. Lord, wife of the Doctor, his niece Miss Lucy Lord, and Mrs. H. R. Seymour, President of the Ladies' Association here, are conspicuous for their indefatigable and judicious labors. They have been faithful and persevering regardless of all opposition, and they and their good sisters who have enlisted in the cause, are entitled to all the praise. Let their noble example be followed by the ladies of Rochester, and we shall see a revolution in public sentiment alike creditable to the human species and beneficial to the brute creation.

That God may prosper their efforts is the sincere prayer of Your obedient servant,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

ON THE DEATH OF HON. RUFUS W. PECKHAM.

On the death of Judge Rufus W. Peckham, a committee representing the Bar of Albany County sent to Mr. Fillmore an invitation for himself and other members of the Erie County Bar to share in a memorial meeting to be held in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol, on December 17th. This notice was sent to the *Commercial Advertiser* with the accompanying note:

BUFFALO, Dec. 15, 1873.

Editor Buffalo Commercial Advertiser:

I have just received the enclosed invitation to attend a meeting of the Bar of the State to be held at Albany on the 17th instant to commemorate the life and public services of the late Judge Rufus W. Peckham, with a request that I would extend a similar invitation to the members of the Bar in this vicinity, which I beg leave to do in this way, through your valuable paper.

Respectfully yours,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. S. *Courier* and *Express* please copy.

The following letters became available for the present publication too late for use in proper chronological order:

TO HORACE GREELEY.

BUFFALO, April 28, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR: Being absent I did not receive your letter of the 25th until yesterday and of course it was quite too late to do anything to procure the nomination of Dr. Lee to the Convention. The ticket had already been filled and today the election is quietly progressing, with more apparent apathy than I ever witnessed before at a general election.

I do not think, however, that it would have been in my power,—had I desired it,—to have procured the nomination of Dr. Lee. I think very well of the Doctor, though I do not concur in all his views of *reform*. But that is a matter that I do not intend to discuss in this letter or indeed in any other way or at any other time. I think much may and ought to be done for the improvement of society,—I am for progress, guided by experience, and regulated by sound discretion; but opposed to all mere theoretical speculations and wild experiments. But again I say I will not discuss this subject.

Be assured that I was gratified to hear from you, though out of my power to comply with your wishes. *Though I have discarded politics,* yet I have not, and trust I never shall, discard my old political friends—and I need not say I rank you among that number.

I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you and taking you by the hand, when we can discuss all these matters more familiarly.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

H. GREELEY, *Esq.*

The above refers to the canvass for delegates to the New York Constitutional Convention.

TO PRESERVE UNION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

WASHINGTON CITY, February 16, 1852.

HENRY O'REILLY, *Esqr.*

DEAR SIR: I have your letter of the 12th inst. and have perused it with pleasure, as I take a deep interest in any project calculated to facilitate the intercommunication between the Atlantic and the Pacific States. If we cannot bind those states to us by roads, railroads and telegraph lines we may soon see them setting up for independence. The home tie which binds the Californian to his native State on the Atlantic, will grow weaker every day, and a new generation will soon arise that know not the East and then the only bond of union will be a common country and a common glory and a common interest, that can only be *equal* by a free and uninterrupted communication from the seat of government to every part of this widespread Republic.

I shall be happy to receive a copy of that part of the report of the St. Louis National Convention to which you refer and after I have had time to peruse it, it will give me pleasure to receive from you any verbal explanation which you may be pleased to give.

I am your obt. servt.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Original MS. owned by the Rochester (N. Y.) Historical Society.

CAROLINE C. [McINTOSH] FILLMORE.

DIED AUGUST 11, 1881.

MILLARD FILLMORE'S WILL

I, Millard Fillmore of the City of Buffalo in the State of New York, do make, publish and declare this my last will and testament, in manner following that is to say:

Believing that the laws of the State of New York have provided for as equitable a distribution of the little property which I am likely to leave, at my decease, as I could make by will, except that in a few particular cases, it is therefore my desire to leave its distribution and descent to the operation of law and the ante-nuptial contract existing between me and my beloved wife Caroline C., except as hereinafter expressed.

First. I feel it a duty and a pleasure to record my dying testimony to the noble qualities of my beloved wife Caroline C., who has ever proved a kind, affectionate and devoted wife, and I hereby ratify and confirm the ante-nuptial contract between us; and wish my executors and heirs to see it fully and faithfully carried out and executed, and if she and my son Millard Powers shall both survive me, I hope and trust that they may love each other as I have loved them; and as they will both be orphans, indeed, I hope also that they will mutually render to each other every assistance due from a most affectionate parent to a beloved child, and from a most affectionate and dutiful child to a beloved parent; and with this I shall rest in peace.

Secondly. I hereby release and bequeath unto each of my brothers, Cyrus Fillmore and Calvin T. Fillmore, all claims of every name and nature which at my decease I may have against them or either of them or their heirs or legal representatives; and I hereby authorize my executors or either of them to acknowledge the same satisfied.

Thirdly. I give and bequeath unto each of my sisters Olive A. Johnson and Julia Harris an annual annuity of four hundred dollars per annum during her natural life, to be paid to each of them quarter-yearly, for her sole use and benefit free from all claim or control of her husband.

Fourthly. I give and bequeath to my brother Calvin T. Fillmore and his wife Miranda, and the survivor of them and to his or her heirs and assigns, the farm of one hundred acres, now occupied by him in the town of Scio, Washtenaw county, Michigan, being the n. w. quarter of section number twenty-three in township no. two, south of range no. five east, excepting the east sixty acres.

Fifthly. I give one thousand dollars to the Buffalo Orphan Asylum, to be securely invested in bond and mortgage for the benefit of said asylum.

Sixthly. I leave all the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, to the operation of the said ante-nuptial contract, which fixes and settles the rights and claims of my said wife, in and to my estate, in lieu of all other claims; and the remainder of said estate I leave to be inherited and distributed according to the laws of the State of New York, except as herein otherwise directed. But as the objects nearest my heart are my dear wife and son, I will and desire that during their joint lives they shall share equally in the net income of my estate, and if after the payment of all charges thereon, including said bequests, annuities and the third due my said wife by the ante-nuptial contract, my son's share thereof shall be more than said third, then my will and desire are that the surplus be equally divided between them; and in case my wife shall survive my son, then after his death I will and desire that she shall during her natural life, receive one half of the net income of my estate without deducting from such half any part of the annuities herein granted, instead of the third as provided in said ante-nuptial contract; and I hereby, appoint my said wife Caroline C., and my said son Millard P., and my friend Nathan K. Hall, executrix and executors of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me made.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Buffalo this 8th day of December eighteen hundred and sixty-five.

MILLARD FILLMORE

WM. KETCHUM
O. H. MARSHALL } ss.

A codicil, Sept. 19, 1868, increases the annuity to his sisters from $400 to $600. A second codicil, Apr. 28, 1873, gives to Calvin T. Fillmore an annuity of $500 in lieu of the farm; and also provides "that after the payment of my funeral expenses, and all just debts and the bequest to the Orphan Asylum, that all my personal property

as soon as conveniently may be, be invested in United States or New York State bonds, or bonds of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad and out of the interest accruing thereon the said annuities shall first be paid, and all taxes and assessments upon my real and personal estate whether occupied or possessed by my said wife or not, and the balance I hereby bequeath to my said wife, and direct the same to be paid to her during her natural life"; thereafter, to be disposed of under the State laws.

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See Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Mch. 9, 1874, the day after Mr. Fillmore's death; reprinted with additional matter (14 cols.) Mch. 12.

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A poem prepared for a meeting of the Literary Circle, Buffalo.

"MADISON." Twelve letters, over the signature of "Madison," on the American question, written by a distinguished Virginian. n. p., n. d. [1856.] 8vo. pp. 32.

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[PUTNAM, *(Hon.)* JAMES O.] [Letters replying to Thos. J. Sizer, and in defence of Mr. Fillmore, signed "CIVIS."] Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* March 4th and 10th, 1891; Buffalo *Express,* March 21, 1891.

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In "Addresses, Speeches and Miscellanies," by James O. Putnam, Buffalo, 1880. Reprinted in this volume.

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SARGENT, NATHAN. Public men and events . . . to the close of Mr. Fillmore's administration. . . . Phila. 1874. 2 vols.

SELLSTEDT, LARS GUSTAF. From Forecastle to Academy. . . . Buffalo, 1904.

Reminiscences of Fillmore, pp. 337-340. Mr. Sellstedt painted three portraits of Mr. Fillmore.

SHELTON, *(Rev.)* WM. [Sermon at funeral of Millard Fillmore, Mch. 12, 1874.] Printed, Buffalo *Courier,* Mch. 13, 1874.

[SIZER, THOMAS J.] [Letters condemning Mr. Fillmore's political course.] Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* March 4, 1891; Buffalo *Express,* Mch. 26, 1891; signed "CITIZEN."

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In "Library of historic characters and famous events," 1899-1900; vol. xi., pp. 331-334.

STODDARD, WM. O. Lives of the Presidents. . . . 16mo. pp. 322.

One chapter is devoted to Mr. Fillmore.

STUART, *(Hon.)* ALEXANDER H. H. [Eulogy of Millard Fillmore before the Virginia Legislature.]

Printed, Richmond *Dispatch,* Mch. 14, 1874; Buffalo *Courier,* Mch. 16, 1874.

STUART, *(Rev.)* D. M. The late Millard Fillmore. *See* Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser,* Mch. 14, 1874.

Reminiscences of Mr. Fillmore's early relations with Judge Wm. Scott, Benjamin Hungerford, etc.

THOMPSON, R. W. Millard Fillmore. *Port.*

In his "Recollections of Sixteen Presidents." 1894. Vol. ii, pp. 313-331.

To the people of Louisiana. n. p., n. d. 8vo. pp. 12.

Campaign pamphlet, apparently of 1856, hostile to Fillmore because of his abolitionism.

A True Account of the singular suffering of John Fillmore . . . to which is added a brief biography of Hon. Millard Fillmore of Buffalo. Utica: Printed for Russell Potter. 1851. 12mo. pp. 24.

The Twins, being two poems: The Lament, by the President; and The Vision, by the ex-President. Edited by John Verity, Esq. n. p. 1856. 8vo. pp. 56.

Fillmore campaign playfulness, naturally not of a high poetic order:

"That the world was made for Fillmore," thou dost most truly say,
And, "Fillmore, to rule the world, as the sun to shine by day."

No wonder the people do inquire, upon what meat,
Doth Fillmore feed, that he has grown so great?

When I was a little boy to Buffalo I came,
And here I've grown so great, the world scarce holds my fame,

etc. Mr. Fillmore's speeches, delivered on his return from Europe, in many towns from New York to Buffalo, are parodied and feebly burlesqued.

WALKER, EDWARD. Life and Administration of ex-President Fillmore. From Walker's Statesman's Manual, to which are added, reasons for his election to the Presidency, extracts from his recent speeches. . . . New York, 1856. *Port.*

WEED, THURLOW. Life of. . . . Boston, 1884. 2 vols.

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WHITE, ANDREW D. Autobiography. . . . New York, 1905; 2 vols.

Reminiscences of Fillmore, vol. i, pp. 59-60.

WHITE, *(Rev.)* ERSKINE N. [Life and character of Millard Fillmore.]

Delivered, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Buffalo . . . 1874. Printed, Buffalo *Courier,* Mch. 16, 1874.

Who commenced! and who can end it!! Buchanan and Fillmore compared from the record. [Washington, 1856.] 8vo. pp. 32.

Prepared by the Democratic National Committee at Washington, for circulation in the Southern States, in favor of Buchanan and against Fillmore.

WILSON, *(Gen.)* JAMES GRANT. [Millard Fillmore: Address before the Buffalo Historical Society, at a club meeting, Buffalo, Jan. 7, 1878.]

Printed, Buffalo *Daily Courier,* Jan. 8, 1878. Revised by the author and reprinted in the present collection.

WILSON, *(Gen.)* JAMES GRANT. Millard Fillmore. *See* Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske. New York, 1900.

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In his "Presidents of the United States, 1789-1902." 1902. Pp. 246-261.

WILSON, *(Gen.)* JAMES GRANT. Traits of Mr. Fillmore. *See The Home Journal,* June, 1874.

WOODWARD, ASHBEL *(M. D., of Franklin, Conn.)* Memoir of Captain John Fillmore, with a genealogy of the Fillmore family. *See* New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. xi, Boston, 1857.

THE FILLMORE RESIDENCE, NIAGARA SQUARE, BUFFALO.

Built by John Hollister, about 1850, and Occupied by him till 1858, when Mr. Fillmore Bought it, Making it his Home till his Death in 1874. Now part of a Hotel. From a Lithograph about 1860.

APPENDIX A

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

RELATIVE TO MR. FILLMORE

TRIBUTE OF THE HON. JAMES O. PUTNAM.

At a meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, March 11, 1874, the Hon. James O. Putnam, rising to second the resolutions which had been presented, spoke as follows:

Mr. President: How much of the renown and glory of our city have departed within the past week. Our two most illustrious citizens, eminent alike in private virtues and distinguished public services, have in quick succession been summoned away. It is within a single week that we were startled by the intelligence that the pure, the incorruptible, the great-hearted Hall was cut down in the midst of his usefulness and honor.[1] Today we stand, as it were, by the grave of his first friend, whose public career was crowned with the highest honors of the republic, and whose private life blossomed and fruited with every gentle humanity, with every charm of friendship, and every social grace. No, sir, I do wrong in saying that the renown and glory reflected from his citizenship have departed. The sun of a great character never sets. The beauty and lustre of their lives will be a lasting inspiration.

I know the loss we are called upon to mourn today is national. I know that the character and fame of Mr. Fillmore belong to the country and to mankind. But there is a peculiar sense in which his loss is ours. He was our neighbor and friend. He had aided in forming nearly all our institutions of art, charity and education, and he gave the weight of his great name and character to every valuable enterprise which sought to promote our social interests. He took upon himself every burden imposed for the public good, and his hand and his voice, his heart and his purse were ever at the service of his fellow-citizens. Then he was a part of our daily personal

1. Hon. Nathan K. Hall died March 2, 1874.

life. In the street, at his own hospitable home, in all our homes, he was ever and always the same courteous gentleman—the same appreciative friend, the kind neighbor, seeking by good and unostentatious offices to make others happy. Wherever he was he created an atmosphere of kindliness and cheer—most felt and most appreciated by those who stood most in need of social sympathy. His personal relation to Buffalo he always recognized and spoke of with interest and affection.

But we may be permitted here to dwell for a moment on the broader side of the life of Mr. Fillmore. He rose to the foremost rank of American statesmen, and his life and character in his public career have become a part of the permanent history of his country and his time. What was the secret of that marvelous success which took the modest apprentice, with little advantage of early education, by rapid steps from the legislative hall of his own State to the Presidential office? It was not by genius, it was not by the skillful combination of force through political necromancy, and, least of all, it was not by the low arts of that lowest of all characters that ever crawls to high places—the arts of the demagogue—that he was borne to this dazzling elevation. What then was the secret of this success so rapid and so brilliant? It may be expressed in these three words, adequacy, fidelity, opportunity. He never entered upon an office that he did not at once rise to its plane and demonstrate his ability to fill it. His character challenged public confidence, and won it from his very entrance upon the race. He dazzled nobody by his brilliancy, but he set himself at hard work in the legislature of his own State and in Congress, and, leaving to whoever sought it, the reputation of genius, he won the solid fame which follows honest work wrought out into beneficent legislation and public policy.

As an illustration of this, take his labors as chairman of the committee of Ways and Means in Congress in 1842. A new Administration came into power upon the issue of a revision of the revenue policy. A revision of the tariff was a great measure to the then dominant Whig party, and to the enormous details attending it Mr. Fillmore addressed himself with characteristic patience and industry. He devoted months to its study. He mastered it in all its details, and the whole complex system became to him as his A B C. He was upon the floor of Congress during the long debate for the measure what Sir Robert Peel, to whom he bears a strong resemblance in character, was in the House of Commons in a similar discussion—master of the situation. The most insignificant item of our commerce and all its relations to our industry, he understood as a master. No skill in debate could disconcert him. He was always ready, always master of the facts, and as such he carried through both his measures and himself. He came out of that Congress with a national reputation as a practical, honest, adequate statesman.

As such his own State accepted him, and made haste to crown him with the highest proofs of her confidence and esteem. He barely failed of an election by his party as Governor, having for his opponent by far the ablest and most popular man of the opposition—a man like Mr. Fillmore in many of his characteristics—a man whom New York will long cherish as one of her noblest, purest,

best of sons—Silas Wright. He was elected comptroller subsequently, an office hardly to his taste, yet one whose duties he discharged with great ability.

And from this office he is transferred to the broader sphere of national politics. His nomination as Vice-President was simply the recognition of his prominence already won, both in his own State and at Washington. The death of his lamented colleague, General Taylor, imposed upon him as the executive of the nation, some of the highest responsibilities of the Government. And here we enter upon the ground where the ashes of a fire intensified by every element of human interest, ambition, sentiment and passion, are still warm, if not of burning heat. That struggle and its incidents and surroundings and its master leaderships, who that witnessed it will ever forget? It was the battle of the giants, almost the last great conflict of the political leaders of the first half of our century, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Douglas, Chase, Seward, and others of less fame, leading the conflict with all the fire of genius and all the enthusiasm of conviction. Can we have any doubt that the moral providence which governs the world, overruled that strife for the best—best for the country—best for the ultimate triumph of principles of human freedom? It is to be remembered that Mr. Fillmore came to the administration of the Government in the transition period of public sentiment and interest on the slavery question. Mr. Fillmore called about him some of the wisest statesmanship of the land—and when the law-making branch of the Government presented him a scheme for the final settlement of the disturbing questions of the hour, he had but to satisfy himself they violated no constitutional principle, and to give it his executive sanction. Mr. Fillmore regarded the compromise measures a finality and pledge that every advantage which had been given to freedom and to free territory by the settlement of 1821, should remain forever intact. But this, sir, is for history, and to her calm judgment I would leave every act and every actor in that great drama.

Mr. Fillmore's administration was an eminently conservative one, as was his character. Let me give a single illustration. The brilliant Kossuth, before he landed upon our shores the guest of the nation, had kindled an enthusiasm in the hearts of the people almost wild with very passion. His advent to the country was the beginning of an ovation until his departure, which has no parallel in our history. Fascinating everybody by the charm of his genius and the magic spell of his eloquence, he had one single purpose, which for a moment he never lost sight of, and which he pressed upon the popular attention every day and almost every hour of his stay. It was to induce our Government and people to interfere in the dispute between Hungary and Austria. In short, to intervene between the contestants and so secure to Hungary its independence. Kossuth was féted everywhere, and almost everybody seemed to lose their senses when under this wonderful magnetic force of genius and patriotism. After the dinner given in his honor at Washington, at which both Mr. Webster and Mr. Seward crowned him with the richest garlands of their own genius, he presented himself to the President and formally made known his wants and almost demanded the interference which had been the text of all his appeals to the

country. This was wholly unexpected by Mr. Fillmore; but he was not thrown off his poise, and in a few cool but direct and forcible words, stated to the patriot and enthusiast, that our Government adheres to the principles laid down by Washington, that it would form no entangling alliances with foreign powers, and there could be no departure from that policy. From that hour, Kossuth's mission as a propagandist of his wild opinions was a failure, and the country was brought back to its "pauser reason."

I have said Mr. Fillmore was a conservative statesman. I recognize the value at times of less cautious statesmanship. I know no other remedy for deep-seated abuses in Church or State but that force in society we call radicalism. But I know that without its complement, conservatism, it is like Phæton driving the coursers of the sun, marking his track with desolation and ruin. Mr. Fillmore, like his friend and his chosen colleague in the Government, Mr. Webster, was in sympathy with every humane sentiment, but he looked upon our government as a delicate and complicated organization, full of checks and balances and constitutional restraints, and it was not his nature to hazard any uncertain experiments, or for slight causes to make any departure from the track laid down by the fathers of the Constitution. He stood by the ancient ways.

Mr. Fillmore's name was the synonym of integrity and honor, and the story of his rise from the humblest beginning to the heights of human distinction, like that of Lincoln, will be an inspiration to American youth for ages to come. His unpurchased, unsullied career under our republican institutions, is a patent of nobility more lasting and more noble than was ever bestowed by the hands of anointed kings.

It is fitting that as a society we honor his memory. He was its early friend, was present at its birth, watched with interest all its career, enriched its archives, and by his large intelligence and quick sympathies imparted a fresh interest to almost its every meeting down to his last illness.

It is but about four weeks since, after the reading of a very interesting paper upon Japan by Mr. Shepard, he gave us an account of the first movement made to open that country to the commercial intercourse of Western Europe and America. It is to the honor of his Administration, that the policy was inaugurated which broke down Japan's walls of exclusion, and prepared her for the great advance she has made towards a higher civilization and renovated institutions.

But I have trespassed too long already, and I second the resolutions offered.

ADDRESS ON MILLARD FILLMORE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE CLUB OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 7, 1878

By General James Grant Wilson.[1]

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Buffalo Historical Society: It is with unfeigned diffidence that I appear in this place and in this presence to address you on a subject with which many here present must necessarily be more conversant than I can by any possibility be, and yet when I was honored by your society with an invitation to prepare a paper on its first president, and one of the chief magistrates of our common country, I felt that it was a call that I could not decline, an opportunity that I could not omit, of publicly expressing my admiration for the many noble qualities of Buffalo's most distinguished citizen.

I am not here this evening to exaggerate his virtues or to extenuate his faults, "Paint me as I am, warts and all," said England's Cromwell; and, "Speak of me just as I was," would be to me the mandate of Millard Fillmore, could he revisit the earth and enter yonder door. Begging your gracious attention during the brief moments of a single hour, I shall without further preface proceed with my paper, in which I have attempted to tell the truthful story of his life.

Seventy-eight years ago this very day a child was born in a simple log cabin at a spot now called Summerhill, within the borders of Cayuga county, in the State of New York. The cabin stood alone, in what was then a wilderness, and was so rude and so rough that we might almost say of this child of humble origin, as was said by the proud Pope of the sixteenth century, that he was born of an illustrious house, for it was a house without a roof. The nearest human habitation was four miles away, and when the sturdy and stalwart young father returned to announce the speedy arrival of the physician, whose residence was seven miles distant, he found the young mother looking down lovingly on their new born son, sleeping sweetly by her bedside in a sap trough, for lack of a better cradle. This child of the people, in later life proud of his birth, could say what Carlyle, the great "censor of the age," remarks of Burns and Diderot, two other plebeians, like himself, "How many kings, how many princes are there, not so well born!"

Permit me to attempt another picture. Five and fifty years have passed away, and there enters in a private parlor of a highly fashionable London hotel a gentleman of lofty and most imposing presence, who has just returned from dining with the Queen at Buckingham Palace. He is dressed in complete court costume—cocked hat, sword, knee breeches, silk stockings and silver-buckled shoes—all which set off his fine face and figure to the greatest advantage. Taking a passing survey of himself in the large mirror, as he advances and lays aside his sword and chapeau, he says, with a

1. Originally prepared by Gen. Wilson at the request of Mrs. Fillmore, the author having been an intimate friend of Mr. Fillmore. Revised by the author for present publication.

merry laugh to the two friends who await his return, "Well, gentlemen, I never expected to come to this." Prince Albert and several dukes and belted earls were present at the dinner, but I doubt if any one of them could be compared to the magnificent looking American arrayed in court paraphernalia, which was singularly becoming to him. I thought then, as I think now, that I never saw a nobler looking man save the godlike Webster.

Could greater extremes of circumstance and condition be conceived? The infant son of the Cayuga county pioneer asleep in the sap-trough cradle; and the guest of the Queen of England, returning from Buckingham Palace are, need I add, two episodes in the life of one of nature's noblemen in honor of whose memory we are now assembled—a "Model President," who was as pure and spotless in private life as he was firm, patriotic and statesmanlike in his public career; in short, a man who is an admirable example to the rising and all future generations of his young countrymen.

The name of Fillmore is of English origin and at different periods his been variously written. The first of the family to appear in the new world was a certain John Fillmore, who in a conveyance of land dated Nov. 24, 1704, is described as a "mariner" of Ipswich, Mass. His eldest son of the same name, born two years before the purchase of the two acres in Beverly, also became a seafaring man and while on a voyage in the sloop Dolphin of Cape Ann, she was captured with all on board by the notorious pirate, Captain John Phillips.

For nearly nine months Fillmore and his three companions in captivity were compelled to serve on board the pirate ship, and to submit during that long period to many hardships and much cruel treatment. After waiting and watching for an opportunity to strike a blow for freedom, their hour at length came, while Fillmore, with such a blow as Richard the Lion-Hearted might have struck, sent an ax crashing through the skull of Burrall, the pirate boatswain, burying its blade deep down in his body; the captain and other officers were successfully dispatched by his companions, and the ship was won! The heroes sailed her into Boston harbor, and the same court which condemned the brigands of the sea, presented John Fillmore with the captain's silver-hilted sword and other articles, which are preserved to this day by his descendants. The sword was very properly inherited by his son Nathaniel, who made good use of it in both the French and Revolutionary wars. In the former he was wounded and left behind in the woods, subsisting for more than a week on a few kernels of corn, and upon his shoes and a part of his blanket, which family tradition records that he roasted and ate. In the war of the Revolution this same Lieut. Fillmore fought gallantly at Bennington, under that stout old soldier, of whom Halleck sings:

> When on that field his band the Hessians fought,
> Briefly he spoke before the fight began:
> "Soldiers! those German gentlemen are bought
> For four pounds eight and seven-pence per man,
> By England's King; a bargain, it is thought.
> Are we worth more? Let's prove it, now we can;
> For we must beat them, boys, ere set of sun,
> Or Mary Stark's a widow." It was done.

Lieut. Fillmore's second son, who also bore the name Nathaniel, and who was the father of the President, went with his young wife to what, at the close of the eighteenth century, was the "Far West," where he and a younger brother built a log cabin in the wilderness, and there his second son Millard, was born Jan. 7, 1800. Nathaniel Fillmore was one of "God Almighty's gentlemen," whose condensed creed was contained in two words, "do right," and who lived to see his illustrious son elevated to a position than which there is none loftier on earth. Of the President's mother, who died in 1831, we know little beyond the fact that she was a sensible, and in her latter years, a sickly woman: with a sunny nature that enabled her to endure uncomplainingly the many hardships of a frontier life, and that her closing days were gladdened by the frequent visits of her second son, who was then in public life, with every prospect of a successful professional and political career.

From a brief autobiography prepared by "Worthy Mr. Fillmore," as Washington Irving described him, and deposited in your archives, and for a copy of which I am indebted to the courtesy of your president, we learn that owing to a defective title his father lost his property on what was known as the "Military Tract," and removed to another part of the same county, now known as Niles, where he took a perpetual lease of 130 acres, wholly unimproved and covered with heavy timber. It was here that the future President first knew anything of life. Working for nine months on the farm and attending such primitive schools as then existed in that neighborhood for the other three months of the year, he had an opportunity of forgetting during the summer what he acquired in the winter, for be it remembered in those days there were no newspapers and magazines as at present to be found in pioneers' cabins, and his father's library consisted of two books—the Bible and a hymn book! He never saw a copy of Shakespeare, or Robinson Crusoe, a history of the United States or even a map of his own country till he was nineteen years of age!

Nathaniel Fillmore's misfortunes in losing his land through a defective title, and again in taking another tract of exceedingly poor soil, gave him a distaste for farming and made him desirous that his sons should follow other occupations. As his means did not justify him or them in aspiring to any profession he wished them to learn trades, and accordingly Millard, then a sturdy and stalwart youth of fourteen, was apprenticed for a few months on trial to the business of carding wool and dressing cloth. During his apprenticeship he was, as the youngest, treated with great injustice, and on one occasion his employer, for some expression of righteous resentment threatened to chastise him, when the young woodsman, burning with indignation, raised the ax with which he was at work, and told him the attempt would cost him his life. Most fortunately for both the attempt was not made, and at the close of his term he shouldered his knapsack containing his few clothes, a supply of bread and dried venison, and set out on foot and alone for his father's, a distance of something more than a hundred miles, and mostly through woods infested with wolves.

Mr. Fillmore, in his autobiography, remarks: "I think that this injustice—which was no more than other apprentices have suffered

and will suffer—had a marked effect on my character. It made me feel for the weak and unprotected, and to hate the insolent tyrant in every station of life."

In 1815 he again began the business of carding and cloth dressing, which was carried on from June to December of each year. The first book that he purchased or owned was a small English dictionary, which he diligently studied while attending the carding machine. In 1819 he conceived the design of becoming a lawyer, a person described by Lord Brougham as "a learned gentleman, who rescues your estate from your enemies and keeps it himself," and Sidney Smith, you may remember, was equally complimentary, when he said that the only thing in this world that he could compare to the shriek of a locomotive was "the yell of a lawyer, when the devil got him!" Young Fillmore, who had yet two years of his apprenticeship to serve, agreed with his employers to relinquish his wages for the last year's services, and promised to pay thirty dollars for his time. Making an arrangement with a retired country lawyer by which he was to receive his board in payment for his services in the office, he began the study of the law, a part of the time teaching school, and so struggling on, overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties, till at length, in the spring of 1823, he was, at the intercession of several leading members of the Buffalo bar, whose confidence he had won, admitted as an attorney by the Court of Common Pleas of Erie County, although he had not completed the course of study usually required. I have this day seen the dilapidated one-story building, now removed from its original site on Main street, near Cold Spring, where Mr. Fillmore closed his career as a schoolmaster, and have also conversed this afternoon with one of his few surviving pupils[1] of fifty-five years ago, who is with us here this evening. The ex-President commenced practice at Aurora, where his father then resided, and fortunately won his first suit and a fee of four dollars. In 1827 he was admitted as an attorney, and two years later as counselor of the Supreme Court of the State. In 1830 he removed to Buffalo, and after a brief period formed a partnership with Nathan K. Hall, to which Solomon G. Haven was soon after admitted.

By hard study and the closest application to business, combined with honesty and fidelity, Mr. Fillmore soon became a sound and successful lawyer, attaining a highly honorable position in the profession. The law firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven, which continued till 1847, was perhaps the most prominent in Western New York, and was usually engaged in every important case occurring in that portion of the State. In 1853, while still in Washington, Mr. Fillmore made an arrangement with Henry E. Davies to renew, on retiring from the Presidency, the practice of his profession in New York, in partnership with that gentleman, who was a lawyer in Buffalo half a century ago, and who, after occupying a judge's seat in the Court of Appeals, returned to the bar, where he continues to this day. Family afflictions, however, combined with other causes, induced the ex-President to abandon his purpose. There were doubtless at that time men of greater genius and greater eloquence at the

1. William Hodge of Buffalo, died Apr. 24, 1886.

bar of the great city, but we cannot doubt that Mr. Fillmore's solid legal learning, and the weight of his personal character, would have won for him the highest professional honors in his new sphere of action.

Mr. Fillmore's political career began and ended with the birth and extinction of the great historical Whig party. In 1828 he was elected representative from Erie county to the State Legislature, serving for three terms and retiring with a reputation for ability, integrity and a conscientious performance of his public duties. He particularly distinguished himself by his advocacy of the act to abolish imprisonment for debt, which was passed in 1831. The bill was drafted by Mr. Fillmore, excepting the portions relative to proceedings in courts of record, which were drawn by John C. Spencer. In 1832 he was elected to Congress, and after serving for one term, retired till 1836 when he was reëlected and again returned in 1838 and 1840, declining a renomination in 1842.

I cannot dwell on Mr. Fillmore's congressional career further than to say that he faithfully and ably discharged his duties as a representative of the people, that he was never absent from his seat from which, when he rose to speak, he never failed to receive respectful attention. "He was a strong speaker, sir," says one who sat in the House with him at that time. As chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, a committee performing at that period not only the duties now devolving upon it but those also which belong to the Committee on Appropriations, he has not since had his equal, is a statement made by the same authority. Although Mr. Fillmore did not claim to have discovered any original system of revenue, still the tariff of 1842 was a new creation, and he is most justly entitled to the distinction of being its author. At the same time, with great labor, he prepared a digest of the laws, authorizing all appropriations reported by him to the House, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, so that on the instant he could produce the legal authority for any expenditure which he recommended. Sensible that this was a great safeguard against improper expenditures, he procured the passage of a resolution requiring the departments, when they submitted estimates of expenses, to accompany them with a reference to the laws authorizing them in each and every instance. This has ever since been the practice of the Government.

Mr. Fillmore retired from Congress in 1843, and was a candidate for the office of Vice-President. supported by his own and several of the Western States, in the Whig national convention, which met at Baltimore in May, 1844. In the following September he was nominated by acclamation for Governor, but was defeated by Silas Wright, his illustrious contemporary Henry Clay being vanquished at the same time in the Presidential contest, by James K. Polk. In 1847 Fillmore was elected Comptroller of the State of New York, an office which then included in its sphere many duties now distributed among various other departments. In his report of January, 1849, he suggested that a national bank, with the stocks of the United States as the sole basis upon which to issue its currency, might be established and carried on, so as to prove a great convenience to the Government, with perfect safety to the people. This

idea involves the essential principle of our present system of national banks.

And here I may relate, before passing on to the most important period of his political career, a little incident which occurred at Albany, while he was Comptroller, as illustrative of his unfailing courtesy and kindness of heart. A party of school boys were enjoying a game of ball in the State-house grounds and unmindful of glass, were not long in driving the ball through a large window of the office of the Secretary of State. Mr. Fillmore was, as it afterward appeared, in conversation with the Secretary, and the intruding ball fell at his feet. The boys, who were too big to run away, when they heard the ball crashing through the large glass, although they felt like criminals, for lack of knowing what else to do, produced another ball, and went on with their game. Suddenly the west door of the State-hall opened, and a tall gentleman with a smiling face presented himself before them, bearing in his hand the unlucky ball. Foretastes of Dr. Beck's ruler and rattan were felt by the culprits, as they looked with awe at the high government official, holding fast to the circumstantial evidence of the mischief they had wrought. Slowly descending the marble steps, he approached, and said, as he gently tossed the ball back, "Boys, I wish you would try and knock your ball in some other direction." That was all, and with a courtly bow he retraced his steps, and disappeared, leaving behind a number of lads charmed with his courtesy and charity, one of whom, after a quarter of a century had passed away, related the incident in Mr. Fillmore's career as an illustration of the truth that—

"He bore without reproach
The grand old name of gentleman."

Another admirer tells us that with a past generation of citizens of the western portion of New York Mr. Fillmore commanded a degree of admiration and respect which has fallen to the lot of few, if any other private or public persons of this State.

In June, 1848, Millard Fillmore was nominated by the Whig National Convention for Vice-President, with General Taylor, who had recently won military renown in Mexico, as President, and was elected in the following November, making, with the present occupant of the office, six Vice-Presidents of the United States from New York, a greater number than has been furnished by any other State of the Union. In February, 1849, Fillmore resigned the Comptrollership, and on the fifth of the following month he was inaugurated as Vice-President. In 1826 Calhoun of South Carolina, then Vice-President, had established the rule that that officer had no authority to call Senators to order. During the heated controversies in the sessions of 1849-50, occasioned by the application of California for admission into the Union, the vexed question of slavery in the new territories, and that of the rendition of fugitive slaves, in which the most acrimonious language was used, Mr. Fillmore, in a forcible speech to the Senate, announced his determination to maintain order, and that, should occasion require, he should reverse the usage of his predecessors on that point. This announcement met with the unanimous approval of the Senate, which directed the Vice-President's remarks to be entered in full on its journal.

He presided during the exciting controversy on Clay's "omnibus bill," with his usual impartiality, and so perfectly even did he hold the scales that no one knew which policy he approved excepting the President, to whom he privately and confidentially stated, that should he be required to deposit a casting vote it would be in favor of Henry Clay's bill. More than seven months of the session had been exhausted in angry controversy, when on July 9, 1850, the country was startled by the news of General Taylor's death. He died in the second year of his Presidency, suddenly and unexpectedly, of violent fever brought on by long exposure to the burning heat of a Fourth of July sun, while attending the public ceremonies of the day.

It was a critical moment in the history of our country when Millard Fillmore was, on Wednesday, July 10, 1850, made President of the United States. With great propriety he reduced the ceremony of his inauguration to an official act to be marked by solemnity without joy; and so with an absence of the usual heralding of trumpet and shawn he was unostentatiously sworn into his great office in the Hall of Representatives in the presence of both Houses. The Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, the venerable William Cranch, appointed fifty years before by President John Adams, administered the oath, which being done, the new President bowed and retired and the ceremony was at an end.

Mr. Fillmore was then in the prime of life, possessing that which to the heathen philosopher seemed the greatest good—a sound mind in a sound body. He was the youngest of our Presidents with the exception of Polk, Pierce and Grant,[1] and as the late Horace Binney[2] in 1875 said to your speaker, the handsomest man who ever held that high office, and he had seen and known them all. Of the keen appreciation of the awful responsibility devolving upon him we have the evidence of letters written at the time, in which he says he should despair but for his humble reliance on Almighty God to help him in the honest, fearless and faithful discharge of his great duties.

General Taylor's Cabinet immediately resigned and a new and exceedingly able one was selected by Fillmore, with Daniel Webster as Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior; Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of War; William A. Graham, Secretary of the Navy; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General, and Nathan K. Hall, Postmaster-General. Of these Mr. Webster died, and Messrs. Graham and Hall retired in 1852, and were respectively replaced by Edward Everett, John P. Kennedy and Samuel D. Hubbard of Connecticut. Conrad of Louisiana and Stuart of Virginia are the sole survivors of the illustrious men who aided Mr. Fillmore in guiding the ship of state during the most appalling political tempest save one which ever visited this fair land.

1. Now also with the exception of Roosevelt, who became President at forty-three.

2. Horace Binney (1780-1875), leader of the Philadelphia bar, and among the foremost lawyers of the land, was acquainted with all our Presidents from Washington to Grant, during whose second administration he died at the great age of ninety-five years and seven months.

It is not my wish to reawaken party feeling or party prejudice—to recall those great questions of pith and moment which so disturbed Congress and the country, in the first days of Fillmore's Administration, but yet, even in so cursory a glance as we are now taking of his career, some comment would seem to be called for in respect to those public acts connected with slavery, which, looking back as calmly as I can, appear to me to have most unreasonably and unjustly, lost him the support of a large proportion of his party in the Northern States. Whatever the wisdom of Mr. Fillmore's course may have been, it is impossible to doubt his patriotism, or his honest belief that he was acting in accordance with his oath to obey the Constitution of his beloved country. The President's dream was peace—to preserve, without hatred and without war, tranquility throughout the length and breadth of our broad land, and if, in indulging this delusive dream, he erred it was surely an error that leaned to virtue's side. There is a legend that "He serves his party best who serves his country best." In Mr. Fillmore's action I feel confident that he thought not of party or of self but only of his bounden duty to his country and her Constitution.

One of the President's earliest official acts was to send a military force to New Mexico to protect that territory from invasion by Texas on account of its disputed territory. Then, as you will remember, followed the passage, by a large majority, of the celebrated compromise measures, including the fugitive slave law. The President referred to the Attorney-General the question of its constitutionality, and that officer, in a written opinion, decided that it was constitutional. Mr. Fillmore, and the strong Cabinet that he had called around him, concurred in this opinion, and the act was signed, together with the other compromise measures. The Fugitive Slave Law was exceedingly obnoxious to a large portion of the Whig party of the North, as well as to the anti-slavery men, and its execution was resisted; slaves in several instances were rescued from the custody of the United States marshals, and a few citizens of Christiana, in Pennsylvania, were killed. Although it was admitted that Fillmore's Administration, as a whole, was able, useful and patriotic, although his purity as a public man was above suspicion, and no other single act of his Administration could be called unpopular, still, by the signing and attempted enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, the President as I have already remarked, lost the friendship and support of a large portion of his party in the North. Doubtful of my own judgment on this most important act of my friend's Administration, I shall, before leaving the subject, have the pleasure of placing before you communications written during the month of December of the past year, by four equally eminent and honored citizens of the republic, who have favored me with their views of this question.

The first of these is from William Cullen Bryant, who has lived under every President of the United States. The venerable poet writes:

> It is exceedingly probable that Mr. Fillmore, on succeeding to the functions of the Presidency at General Taylor's death, acted by the advice of Mr. Webster, in approving the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Webster had made a brief speech against the law, doubting its constitutionality, and suggesting that the

return of fugitive slaves to their owners was not a matter for the Federal Government to meddle with, but a matter for the States to arrange among themselves. He, however, soon after came over to the support of the Fugitive Slave bill, and Mr. Ritchie, editor of the *Union* newspaper published at Washington, declared in its columns that there was no reward too high for a grateful country to bestow upon the man who had come forward so magnanimously in favor of that important measure.

While General Taylor lived there was no chance for the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. He set his face firmly against it and directed against it the influence of his Administration. Mr. Clay, who brought it forward with two or three kindred projects, had become discouraged and spoke of his discouragement. In the midst of the discussion on this measure, General Taylor, who had thought to settle the dispute respecting the migration of the slaveholders to the territories taking with them their slaves by admitting the territories at once as States of the Union, died, and with him the great obstruction to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law was removed. It was naturally to be expected that Mr. Fillmore should be governed by the wishes of such eminent leaders of the party as Clay and Webster, and accordingly the influence of the Federal Administration was used in its favor; the bill received the votes of a majority in each House of Congress and was duly approved by the acting President.

I write from memory without consulting any record of the time to which I refer, but I believe that I am literally exact, for the events of that time made a strong impression upon me.

The next note is from the son and grandson of Presidents of the United States, Charles Francis Adams, who says:

I should be very glad to give you all the information in my power touching the historical point you made, were I at what you are pleased to call my "historic" country house. In my library there are deposited the records of my own impressions of Mr. Fillmore's policy, both in my diary and letter books. So much time has passed since that without the aid of those papers I remember little. I always thought that Mr. Fillmore was unfortunate in having Mr. Webster saddled upon him, which I know he did not desire at the outset. After that he had little power to deal with Fugitive Slave Law, as he should have done. He looked to me like Sinbad and the Old Man of the Sea, and I have not now the smallest pity for his fate.

In regard to personal relations with him, I can only say that when my father was living at Quincy, and I was occupying a house that I built myself on the hills in front, to my surprise on my return from Boston at the usual hour, Mrs. Adams greeted me with the news that Mr. Fillmore was in the house by reason of his mistaking it for my father's. She had received him close upon dinner time, so she asked him to stop and take his chance, at the same time promising to send down to my father to join him. The consequence was, a very informal and sprightly conversation which lasted until his hour to return to town. I bid him good-bye, and I doubt whether I ever met with him again. I like to remember him thus rather than when overloaded with care. He was then Vice-President."

Charles O'Conor, the renowned lawyer, writes:

You refer to a mere point in the history of negro slavery, and of the struggle for its abolition. You refer to it properly enough as a personal question, for you design to speak of it in a personal aspect, *i. e.*, to bring under consideration whether an individual holding high office acted wisely or not, as a politician, in his method of performing a particular official duty.

I have never looked into this point in this way, and could not easily state an opinion on it which would be satisfactory to myself or useful to you.

On the great question itself my opinion in general and in all its details has always been, and still is, precisely the reverse of that which is the adopted sentiment of the country. Though I cannot state reasons, the whole thing having passed out of my mind, I must presume that if consulted I would have advised an approval of the bill.

The fourth and last communication on this subject which I shall have the pleasure of reading is from an illustrious statesman, who dined with his friend, the President, on the very day on which he

signed the Fugitive Slave Law, and who heard all about that signature before the ink was dry. I refer to Robert C. Winthrop, the successor of Webster in the United States Senate. Mr. Winthrop writes:

> Your favor of the 18th inst., asking for my testimony in regard to the relations of the late President Fillmore to the Fugitive Slave Law, was duly received.
>
> It would afford me sincere pleasure to aid you in paying a just tribute to so worthy a man. But you must excuse me from entering, as you propose, into any discussion of the probable consequences of his having acted otherwise than as he did act.
>
> When the Fugitive Slave Bill passed the United States Senate, on the 23d of August, 1850, I was one of twelve Senators only who voted against it. I have never changed my opinion in regard to that bill, nor ever ceased to regret that Congress should have sanctioned it in the shape in which it went upon the statute book. Even Mr. Webster, to whom you refer, wrote to the Union Committee of New York, long after the bill had become a law, that it was "not such a measure as he had prepared before he left the Senate, and which of course he should have supported if he had remained in the Senate."
>
> But it is one thing to vote against a bill as a Senator or Representative in Congress and a very different thing to veto it as President.
>
> Mr. Fillmore was a member of that grand old Whig party, some of whom had been in favor of abolishing the veto power altogether, and almost all of whom had maintained the doctrine that the veto should be used only in cases of manifest violation of the Constitution. I was in the way of knowing well at the time that before signing the bill he submitted it to the Attorney-General of the United States for his opinion on this point, and that he took counsel of his Cabinet. The opinion of the Attorney-General was, I believe, published at the time and the views of the Cabinet were well understood by everybody at Washington.
>
> I have never for a moment doubted that the Fugitive Slave Law was signed by President Fillmore under the same conscientious convictions of duty which actuated and controlled him in his whole executive career. The assaults made upon him at the moment have always seemed to me unreasonable and unjust.

Mr. Fillmore's Administration being in a political minority in both houses of Congress, many wise and admirable measures recommended by him failed to be adopted, nevertheless we are indebted to him for cheap postage; for the noble extension of the National Capitol, the cornerstone of which he laid July 4th, 1851; for the Perry treaty, opening the ports of Japan; and for various valuable exploring expeditions. When South Carolina in one of her indignant utterances took Mr. Fillmore to task for sending a fleet to Charleston harbor, and as he was officially questioned as to his object and authority, the answer came promptly and to the purpose: "By authority of the Constitution of the United States, which has made the President Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy." With stern measures he repressed filibustering, and with equal firmness exacted from other nations respect for our flag. Mr. Fillmore carried out strictly the doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of foreign countries and frankly stated his policy to the highly-gifted Hungarian, who won all hearts by his surpassing eloquence. At the same time, however, it was clearly shown how little the Administration sympathized with Austria by the celebrated letter to Hülsemann by the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, who died soon after. He was, as you will remember, succeeded by Edward Everett, whose brief term of office was distinguished by his letter declining the proposition for a treaty by which England, France and the United States were to disclaim then and for the future all inten-

tion to obtain possession of Cuba. In his last message, however, the President expressed an opinion against the incorporation of the Spanish island with this Union.

Nothing in Mr. Fillmore's Presidential career was, during the later years of his life, regarded by himself with greater satisfaction than the suppressed portion of his last Message to Congress of December the 6th, 1852. Why it was suppressed I am unable at present to state, but presume it was by the advice of his Cabinet. It related to the great political problem of the time—the balance of power between the free and slave States. He fully and clearly appreciated the magnitude of the then approaching crisis, and in the document now under consideration proposed a most judicious scheme of rescuing the Union from the horrors of civil war, which soon after desolated so large a portion of our country. As the chorus to "Henry the Fifth" very sensibly remarks, "Time, numbers and due course of things cannot be here presented," and I can but briefly state that his wise and perfectly practical plan was one of African colonization, somewhat similar to one seriously entertained by his successor, Mr. Lincoln. Had President Fillmore's plan been adopted it is reasonably certain that it would have been successful, and that our country might have been blessed with plenteous peace and prosperity in lieu of the late war with its loss of half a million of precious lives, and a debt of more than double the amount of the cost of his scheme of colonization.

Mr. Fillmore retired from the Presidency March 4th, 1853, leaving the country at peace with other lands, and within her own borders, and in the enjoyment of a high degree of prosperity in all the various departments of industry. In his Cabinet there had never been a dissenting voice in regard to any important measure of his administration, and upon his retiring from his great office a letter was addressed to him by all its members expressing their united appreciation of his ability, his integrity and his sincere devotion to the public service.[1]

His gifted contemporary, Henry Clay, thought highly of Mr. Fillmore's wisdom and moderation, said his Administration was an able and honorable one, and on his death-bed recommended his nomination for the Presidency (by the Baltimore convention of 1852) as being a statesman of large civil experience, and one in whose successful career there was nothing inconsistent with the highest purity and patriotism. After leaving Washington for the last time, Mr. Webster said to a friend that Fillmore's administration—leaving entirely out of the question his share in its work—was the ablest the country had possessed for many years. The same great statesman in his speech at the laying of the cornerstone of the extension to the Capitol, Washington, said: "President Fillmore, it is your singularly good fortune to perform an act such as that which the earliest of your predecessors performed fifty-eight years ago. You stand where he stood; you lay your hand on the cornerstone of a building designed greatly to extend that whose

1. No trace of this letter has been found by the editor. The supposition is that it was destroyed with other papers which passed to the possession of Millard Powers Fillmore.

cornerstone he laid. Changed, changed, is everything around. The same sun, indeed, shone upon his head which now shines upon yours. The same broad river rolled at his feet and now bathes his last resting place, which now rolls at yours. But the site of this city was then mainly an open field. Streets and avenues have since been laid out and completed, squares and public grounds enclosed and ornamented, until the city which bears his name, although comparatively inconsiderable in numbers and wealth, has become quite fit to be the seat of government of a great and united people. Sir, may the consequences of the duty which you perform so auspiciously today equal those which flowed from his act. Nor this only: May the principles of your Administration and the wisdom of your political conduct be such as that the world of the present day and all history hereafter may be at no loss to perceive what example you made your study."

Mr. Fillmore, I should state as a part of his public record, was a candidate for nomination as President at the Whig convention of 1852; but though his policy, the Fugitive Slave Law included, was approved by a vote of 227 against 60, he could not command 20 votes from the free States. Four years later, while at Rome, he received the news of his nomination as a candidate for the Presidency by the American party. He accepted the nomination, but before the close of the campaign it became evident that the real struggle was between the Republicans and Democrats. Very many of those with whom Fillmore was the first choice for President cast their votes for James Buchanan or General Fremont, believing that there was no hope of his election, and though he received the support of large numbers in all the States, Maryland alone gave him its electoral vote. I have the pleasure of remembering that I first voted at a Presidential election in 1856, and that I then gave that vote for Millard Fillmore. In the summer of 1864 Mr. Ogle Taylor of Washington, wrote to Mr. Fillmore on the subject of the Presidential nomination, and the response was: "I can assure you in all sincerity that I have no desire ever to occupy that exalted station again, and more especially at a time like this." Apropos of letters, I have had the privilege of perusing a volume of private letters written by Fillmore, during a score of years while in public life; and after a careful examination I have failed to find a single passage that would not stand the light of day—not a word of ignoble office-seeking—no paltry tricks to gain notoriety—no base designs of fattening upon public plunder.

"No line that dying, he could wish to blot,"

is disclosed in this confidential correspondence, which it is only proper that I should mention, was addressed to a venerable journalist, still living, whose name is indissolubly connected with that of the late Mr. Seward.[1]

It was perhaps befitting that the last event of Mr. Fillmore's public life should have been his participation as Peace Commissioner in 1860-61, in the ineffectual efforts of compromise to ward off the

1. Thurlow Weed. The letters referred to are printed in the present collection.

tremendous struggle that proved to compromise and slavery a struggle of death.

Before passing from Mr. Fillmore's public career to his private life, I will only further add, that while we may leave to the critic and biographer the task of measuring and adjusting his relative rank in the long line of illustrious men who have filled the Chief Magistrate's chair, and may also let them decide whether he successfully imitated, as Webster predicted, the example set before him by Washington, I cannot avoid expressing the belief that if the young men of today, who aspire by honest labor and a noble ambition to serve their country, would take Millard Fillmore as their model—if the beauty of his life has properly impressed them—if his industry, his integrity, and his earnestness exert the power these ought to exert, we should soon be free from the unworthy men who have usurped so many public positions in recent days, and have disgraced and dishonored the American name.

Having thus glanced at the professional and political career of Mr. Fillmore, it now only remains for me to allude briefly to his private life from 1853 onward. Three weeks after the close of his Administration he sustained a heavy affliction in the loss of his wife, to whom he was married in 1826. She had long been a sufferer from ill-health and was looking forward eagerly to a return to her old home, when she was taken away to those temples not made with hands. In the following year their only daughter, who had grown to womanhood, also passed away to the silent land. His home, now lonely from the loss of those who spread around it sunshine and happiness, induced Mr. Fillmore to carry out a long-cherished project of visiting the Old World, and in May, 1855, he sailed in the Collins steamer Atlantic. I may be allowed to remember that our voyage was a most agreeable one, with the exception of some thirty-six hours, during which time we were in a terrific storm that swept our decks, destroying three boats, one of the wheel-houses, and severely injuring several of the sailors. To add to the terror of our situation, we were surrounded by icebergs. Many of the passengers gave themselves up for lost, and I shall never forget the tone and look of Mr. Fillmore as he said, while the storm was at its worst, "I wish we were at home. If I *ever* reach Buffalo, I shall remain there." Before arriving at Liverpool I experienced the advantage of traveling with an ex-President of the United States, for when several miles from the city we were transferred with our trunks unopened to a small steamer, and escorted by a number of officials to our hotel.

We were in London during the height of the season, and I think I may safely assert that no American, except General Grant, ever received more attention in the mother country than Mr. Fillmore. His noble presence, his mild and courtly manners, about which there was the beauty of repose, and his perfect freedom from any of the peculiarities that too often disfigure the private character of our public men, combined to charm the English people. All classes, including the Queen and her Cabinet, did him honor, and from our countryman, George Peabody, he was the recipient of numerous and gratifying attentions. With some two hundred Americans and

about fifty more or less distinguished Englishmen, we sat down to one of Peabody's famous Fourth of July dinners. Mr. Fillmore was exceedingly delighted with a passage in the speech of Josiah Quincy, Jr., who replied to the first toast, "The day we celebrate." Mr. Quincy said: "In the journal of my ancestor, to whom kindly mention has been made, he endeavors to describe the effect produced upon him by hearing Lord Chatham plead for the rights of America before the House of Lords. 'That great orator,' says my grandfather, 'stretched forth his hand with the dignity of a Paul, and smote upon his breast with the energy of a Demosthenes, while with a prophet's foresight he warned his peers what would be the consequence of denying to British subjects the rights of Britons, and concluded with these memorable words: 'If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, I never would lay down my arms—never—*never*—NEVER!'"

Mr. Fillmore proposed later in the evening, "The health of our generous host," and spoke of him as a noble specimen of American enterprise, of whom his countrymen were justly proud. After the lapse of more than twenty years, I, of course, cannot remember his exact words, but I very distinctly recall *how* he spoke and that was very happily, and in a manner that pleased all present.[1] Leslie, the eminent painter, next to whom I sat, said: "What a noble-looking man. What an agreeable speaker! He reminds me of Sir Robert Peel. You must present me to your friend, and bring him to my house."

Another evening Mr. Fillmore was the guest of Mr. Peabody at the opera, where he had taken two large boxes, between which the partition had been removed for the occasion. There were perhaps a dozen other distinguished Americans present, and several Boston beauties. Mr. Van Buren was invited but declined, owing to the recent death of a son. It was the opening night of the season; the Queen and most of the royal family were there, with nearly all the great titled people known in the highest society of London, yet the lorgnettes were chiefly directed at Mr. Peabody's box to see the American beauties and the ex-Presidents of the United States, as it had been rumored through the house that Fillmore and Van Buren were both present. Not even the magnificent singing of Grisi, Mario and Lablache, the greatest trio of the century, could entirely recover the attention of the vast and brilliant audience from our box.

Of a summer day's ramble to Hampstead, to look up some friends, and to see Joanna Baillie's cottage—

> "It was the time of roses,
> We plucked them as we passed;"

of a visit to the London docks, provided with tasting orders, and of Mr. Fillmore for the first and only time in his long life, for he was a singularly temperate man, becoming slightly fuddled by merely moistening his lips with such a variety of liquids, some said to be a century old; of our interesting walk through Westminster Abbey; of a visit to the Bank of England, when the Governor handed to the

1. *See*, for a report of these remarks, I. Fillmore, pp. 444-445.

ex-President a million pounds sterling to "heft," as a Yankee would say; and of his gracious reception at the French and other continental courts that he visited, I cannot dwell, although I would gladly do so did my time permit.

Mr. Fillmore, while in England, declined to accept the degree of D. C. L. offered by the University of Oxford, through its Chancellor, the late Earl of Derby. He said to your speaker: "I had not the advantage of a classical education, and no man should, in my judgment, accept a degree that he cannot read." He then quoted Major Jack Downing's description of his predecessor Jackson, receiving a similar honor from Harvard University in 1833, on which occasion the old hero concluded his remarks by introducing in tones of thunder, all the Latin he was conversant with, as follows: *"E pluribus unum! Sine qua non! Multum in parvo! Quid pro quo! Ne plus ultra!"* The effect was tremendous.

Another reason that influenced the ex-President in declining the degree was his dread of the ridicule usually, if not universally, visited upon the heads of those receiving such distinction, by the unruly students of Oxford and Cambridge. "They would probably ask," he said, "Who's Fillmore? What's he done? Where did he come from? and then my name would, I fear, give them an excellent opportunity to make jokes at my expense." Charles Francis Adams, the only other American who ever refused a similar honor, did so solely because he was unwilling to be subjected to such treatment. Even Tennyson, who was honored with the degree of D. C. L. at the time it would have been conferred on the ex-President, did not escape. When the poet appeared on the platform he was, (in allusion to his cravat and to the usual dishevelled appearance of his hair), greeted with derisive shouts from the students assembled in the galleries, who asked, "Did your mother call you early, Alfred?" "Who's that fellow with the red choker?" "Take him out," etc., etc.

But I must hasten on, and cannot pause to dwell as I could wish, on Mr. Fillmore's patriotic attitude during the early years of the late war, of his warm interest in all the good Christian work of the city in which he passed nearly half a century; of the method and exactness, the precision and punctuality with which he conducted his correspondence, and indeed, all his private affairs, as in earlier years he had conducted professional and public duties; of a second visit to Europe in 1866, accompanied by one who survives him; of his manner of life in dignified retirement, surrounded by all the comforts and luxuries of life, including a well selected and much used library, and with an attached wife by his side to share his happy home. In one of his letters written but a few weeks before the inevitable hour came, that sooner or later comes for us all, he remarks, "I am happy to say that my health is perfect. I eat, drink, and sleep as well as ever, and take a deep but silent interest in public affairs, and if Mrs. Fillmore's health can be restored I should feel that I was in the enjoyment of an earthly paradise."

The ex-President accepted an invitation to meet the surviving members of his Cabinet and a few other valued friends at the princely residence of Mr. Corcoran in Washington. The month of

January, 1874, was designated as the date of the meeting, but was afterward changed to April by Mr. Fillmore's request. Alas! ere the arrival of

> "Well apparel'd April
> That on the heel of limping winter treads,"

he was no longer among the living. After a brief illness, at ten minutes past eleven o'clock on Sunday evening, March the eighth, Millard Fillmore, thirteenth President of these United States,

> "Sank to rest,
> By all his country's wishes blest."

He was gathered to his fathers at the ripe age of three-score and fourteen years, and died without the knowledge that his former partner, Judge Hall, with whom he had been so long and closely united in the bonds of friendship and in professional and public life, had also a few days previous rested from his labors and was then sleeping in that temple of silence where the ex-President now rests by his side.

I have thus run rapidly through the career of one whose

> "Life was gentle and the elements
> So mixed in him that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, *This was a man!*"

and I know not how I can more fittingly conclude this brief and simple tribute to the memory of Millard Fillmore, than with the words applied to another: "If it were becoming at this time and in this assembly to address our departed friend as if in his presence, I would say, 'Farewell, thou who hast entered into the rest prepared from the foundation of the world for serene and gentle spirits like thine. . . . Farewell, happy in thy life, happy in thy death, happier in the reward to which that death was the assured passage. The brightness of that enduring fame which thou hast won on earth is but a shadowy symbol of the glory to which thou art admitted in the world beyond the grave. Thy errand upon earth was an errand of peace and good will to men, and thou art now in a region where hatred and strife never enter and where the harmonious activity of those who inhabit it acknowledges no impulse less noble or less pure than that of love.'"

MONUMENT AT GRAVE OF MILLARD FILLMORE.

FOREST LAWN CEMETERY, BUFFALO.

AN HOUR WITH PRESIDENT FILLMORE AND HIS FRIENDS

At the annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society, Jan. 10, 1899, following the necessary business, an hour was devoted to the memory of Millard Fillmore. Some members spoke briefly; others who had known Mr. Fillmore, intimately, submitted reminiscences or sent letters. A portion of these offerings, deemed worthy of preservation, here follows:

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT LANGDON.

After speaking of various phases of the Historical Society's work and interests, Mr. Langdon said:

In the first Directory ever issued in the then village of Buffalo, dated 1828, a copy of which lies upon the table before you, under the head of "Aurora," appears the name "Millerd Filmore," both given and surnames misspelled. For nearly half a century that name continued, year after year, as that of a resident of Buffalo. Millard Fillmore came to Buffalo light of purse, but with a right goodly stock of brains. He came a lad, a student and teacher; he died full of years, having attained the highest place in the ambition of man. His political career is known to the world, approved by many, by many severely criticized. We have gathered tonight not wholly to review his public life, but principally as friends and neighbors to recall some reminiscences and incidents of his life as a private citizen.

Mr. Fillmore was a member of the Maryland Historical Society, which society has kindly sent us a photograph of the cast in its possession made from the marble bust by Bartholomew, in Florence, in the year 1856. The original we have been unable to find. He was also an honorary vice-president of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society for many years. His membership in these two societies may have been an inspiration, one of many, perhaps, that led to the organization of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1862, an incident in connection with which will be given by our secretary.

We celebrate tonight our thirty-seventh anniversary. Mr. Fillmore was one of this society's promoters, and its first president. It seems a grateful duty, as well as a pleasure, on our part to commemorate his memory tonight. His contemporaries are nearly all gone. We have attempted to crystallize some kindly and historic memories of him as a last tribute to one who was respected, regard-

less of political differences, by all who were favored in knowing him—a few more days and all his acquaintances will be gone from us.

For want of time, we shall not be able to read all that his friends have sent us, but we will give you a few excerpts.

Mr. Fillmore's domestic life was deeply shadowed: the death of his first wife at Willard's Hotel, just after leaving the White House, was an awful blow to a most devoted husband. The death of his wife was followed quickly by the sudden, tragic death of his only daughter, Mary Abigail, a young lady of rare accomplishments, whose beauty of person is reflected by the pastel portrait and the exquisite daguerreotype we are enabled to show you tonight, by the kindness of companions of her youth.[1] In passing, a word of her last illness may be of interest. With her close friend, Miss Scott, now Mrs. Lars G. Sellstedt, she had taken a lesson in German, and about two o'clock in the afternoon left her father's home on Franklin street to go to Aurora to help her grandparents about settling in the new home which her father had built for them in that village. Mr. Fillmore protested about her going by stage and told her to have her brother Powers drive out with her in the carriage. This she did not want to do because there would be no place in the new home where Powers could sleep. On that evening she was stricken with the dread disease of cholera; her father and her brother were summoned, but before they could reach her she became unconscious, and at eleven o'clock on the next morning she died. Miss Fillmore was an accomplished musician, playing skillfully both the piano and the harp; she was educated at the Normal School, and taught in one of the public schools after she was graduated.

Mr. Fillmore was married twice; he was survived by his widow and his son, Powers. We are fortunate in having portraits of Mr. Fillmore, of his wife, his son and daughter, and of his father, Nathaniel Fillmore, for your inspection tonight; we have also two busts, one by Mr. Hart and one by Mr. Selkirk, which have been loaned to the society by the Buffalo Library and the Fine Arts Academy. We show you fine portraits of the three members of the firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven, whose standing as the foremost firm of lawyers was of wide reputation. As in life these men walked together, so in death their remains lie side by side in our sacred City of the Dead.

This beautiful desk which stands before me was formerly owned and used by Mr. Fillmore at his home on Niagara Square. We have learned from Michael Solomon of this city that he made for the late Abner Cutler the chair of white oak used by Mr. Fillmore in Washington while he was President. The upholstering of this chair was beautifully embroidered, the work of Mrs. Fillmore. The relics on exhibition in part are the property of this society and in part have been loaned by the friends of the Fillmore family for this occasion. To these friends our grateful thanks are due. The beautiful medallion of Mr. Fillmore, here shown, was made expressly for this occasion and presented to our society by Mr. A. A. Langenbahn.

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1. Owned by Mrs. S. S. Jewett, and loaned to the Society for this occasion.

BIRTH OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Frank H. Severance said:

Some years ago I was making a Sunday drive around Grand Island with the Hon. Lewis F. Allen, when he said to me: "Did you ever hear how the Historical Society was started?"

Mr. Allen and I used to make very pleasant excursions together. Though more than half a century lay between us, in age, we had a common interest in the history of the Niagara frontier—that history which he knew so well; so large a part of which he was.

"Tell me of it," I said.

"I was coming up Court street one day," he continued, "when I met Orsamus H. Marshall. I knew him well—knew that he was one of the few men in Buffalo who gave any thought to the preservation of the records or relics of our history. Marshall, you know, was a scholar. Put him onto anything relating to our Indians, and off he'd go as long as he could follow the trail. He spoke of something that he wanted to get, or that had been destroyed, I don't remember now just what.

" 'Marshall,' I said, 'we ought to do something about these things. Somebody should take care of them.'

"It was a raw, windy day early in the Spring, along in March, 1862. He said, 'Come up in my office and we'll talk it over.'

"The result of that talk was that we got a few others interested and published a call for another meeting, to be held at Mr. Marshall's office. The rest of it," said Mr. Allen, "is matter of record. We named a committee to draw up a constitution and by-laws, which were submitted to a meeting of citizens held in the rooms of the old Medical Association on South Division street. Millard Fillmore was made chairman of that meeting, and a little later, at our first election, he was chosen the first president of the society."

The society's records show that the first meeting at which Mr. Fillmore presided was held on April 15, 1862. Mr. Allen was chairman of the earlier meeting, held at Mr. Marshall's office, and was the first vice-president of the society.

MR. FILLMORE'S VIEWS ON TEMPERANCE.

Dr. Albert H. Briggs said:

My only excuse for making any remarks on this occasion is the fact that from my earliest recollection I have known a Fillmore. And to know any of this remarkable family was to respect, honor and love them. In my childhood I knew and loved Rev. Glezen Fillmore. "Father Fillmore" we called him—a cousin of ex-President Millard Fillmore. Father Fillmore went to his reward years ago, but he has left his mark on all this part of our State. He will always be remembered as the pioneer of Methodism here.

The children of my father's household would sit for hours and listen to his stories of adventure and hardship while on his rounds as a "circuit preacher" of the M. E. Church. "His parish," he would say, "was all of New York State west of the Genesee river and a good part of Pennsylvania, as far south as Titusville and

Meadville." On one occasion, when coming to our place to hold quarterly meeting, he drove by and put up at a neighbor's. After the Saturday evening services were over my good mother said to him: "Father Fillmore, the children were bitterly disappointed because you did not stop at our house as usual." His reply was, "I intended to stop at your house, Sister Briggs, but the road gate was shut, and as I did not wish to get out into the mud to open it, I drove on to Sister Clark's."

"We boys" overheard the remark. We went home, and, in spite of its size and weight, we took the gate from its hinges, dragged it some distance from the post and chained it to the pines with a log chain, where it remained several years, until long after Father Fillmore died. It is needless to say that the good man never drove by again without stopping.

The next Fillmore with whom I became acquainted was Nathaniel Fillmore, the father of Millard. I first met him while I was a student at the Academy at East Aurora. In spite of the great difference in our ages—he an old man, I a young boy—we were inseparable companions, and all the time I had to spare from my school duties was spent in his company. He was a very pleasant old gentleman, and I never tired of hearing him tell of Millard—his constant theme when in my company.

While I was a student at the University of Buffalo, Millard Fillmore was the honored Chancellor. He would occasionally attend the lectures of the professors, and always appeared to take great interest in all that was said and done. He most frequently attended the lectures of Prof. Charles A. Lee, whom he apparently respected very highly. Prof. Lee was a very old man, probably a little older than Mr. Fillmore. He was a tireless worker in his profession, and was, I believe, the originator—if not, at least the defender—of the theory that drunkenness is a disease, and should be considered and treated as such by the State. Through his energy and tireless effort an institution was founded by the State at Binghamton for the treatment of this class of diseases. The institution proved a failure, as Prof. Lee predicted it would, because the Legislature did not incorporate in the law the power and authority to restrain the patients, even against their will, until cured.

One day the subject of the lecture by Prof. Lee was "Alcohol." After disposing of the subject from the viewpoint of the professor of *materia medica,* he branched out to deliver a most earnest, eloquent and impressive address on the abuse of alcoholic beverages. Millard Fillmore was present on this occasion, and at the close of the lecture was asked if he wished to make any remarks. He had often been given the opportunity before, but until now had always declined. He arose and told the class of young men how greatly he had been interested in the earnest words of Prof. Lee, and wished to add to the professor's eloquent plea the hope that none of the young men present would ever become addicted to the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages. He pointed out the danger of moderate drinking, and warned them as young medical men of the many dangers that would especially surround them. He gave a brief history of his own life, of his early struggles to obtain an education, of the privations of his young manhood, of the tempta-

tions that surrounded him as a law student, of his experiences as a lawyer, of his success as a politician, until by good fortune he had been called to hold the highest office in the gift of the American people, when he had been required to entertain the representatives of kings and emperors. "Yet," said he, "up to this day I have seldom tasted wine and seldom offered it to a guest."

As he closed his eloquent address, none could but admire the courtly, handsome man who stood so erect before us, his silvery hair showing whiter by the contrast of his glowing, ruddy countenance, his eyes clear and bright, his figure tall and erect, every movement marked by courtly dignity and grace.

MRS. HAVEN'S RECOLLECTIONS.

The following paper, by Mrs. S. G. Haven, was read by Miss Haven:

The private life of our late President, Millard Fillmore, was in his earlier years so domestic and so quiet and uneventful as to present but few salient points for the narrator, and none whatever for the sensationalist. Like all good husbands, he loved his wife and his children and found his highest pleasure in the enjoyment of his home. But what was peculiar to him was the marked courtesy of manner with which he always addressed Mrs. Fillmore and the polite attention which he accorded her. It was like that which a man usually bestows upon a guest.

I remember, at a party at my own house one cold winter night, that, after escorting Mrs. Fillmore to the parlor, he quietly slipped away to his own home, returning to surprise her with the flowers she had cut from her own conservatory and carefully arranged, but had forgotten to bring with her. It was these small attentions, so natural to him, that gave a distinctive mark to the daily intercourse of their lives.

Mrs. Fillmore was a woman who had read much and who was well informed upon all the topics of the day, and Mr. Fillmore had the highest respect for her attainments, and has been heard to say that he never took any important step without her counsel and advice.

The friends of the Historical Society are familiar with the iron car or cradle which was used upon a cable to cross the gorge of Niagara river during the construction of the Suspension Bridge; but they may not know that Mr. Fillmore himself, though naturally a cautious man, made that perilous passage simply because he could not see a headstrong woman, till then a stranger, take that appalling journey alone.

Mr. Fillmore's long term of eight years in Congress brought him in contact with the prominent men of the times, and he often had an opportunity of entertaining them here in his own home. One evening he invited a small circle of friends to meet former President John Quincy Adams, and that night I listened to the most remarkable conversation that it has ever been my privilege to enjoy. The late Albert H. Tracy purposely drew Mr. Adams into an argument, that he might have the pleasure of knowing something of that won-

derful talent with which the distinguished guest was so richly endowed. For nearly an hour we sat silently listening to those two gifted men, and you who remember what were Mr. Tracy's conversational abilities can perhaps imagine the rare quality of that mental feast.

The relations between the firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven were those of the closest intimacy, which naturally led to the discussion of all that filled the measure of their lives, both professional and political. The many letters that Mr. Haven received from Mr. Fillmore, including those written during the formation of the Cabinet, were carefully preserved for more than forty years, and then the most of them were destroyed, not recklessly, but because they were of too personal and confidential a nature to be subjected to the risk of ever falling into other hands.

Some time after Mr. Fillmore had retired from the Presidency the members of the firm chanced to meet one evening at our house, and they were deploring the condition of their friend, Mr. James O. Putnam, who had received the appointment of Consul to Havre, and had left this country in such delicate health that they feared he would not live to return, and Mr. Fillmore exclaimed, "We shall never see poor Putnam again." Twenty-four years have elapsed since the last member of the firm passed away, and Mr. Putnam is still with us, genial and sparkling as ever.

Mr. Fillmore was a lover of books, and in his earlier life it was a source of regret that he had so little time to bestow upon them. All the leisure he could obtain he devoted to them, and his natural good taste insured his appreciation of the best authors.

Speaking one day, with a lady, of a young man who had an appointment in Italy, Mr. Fillmore said: "Is not he something of a rowdy?" "Oh, no," said she, "I think not." "Why," said he, "I thought he drank and wrote poetry." Notwithstanding this Mr. Fillmore had a thorough enjoyment of poetry. He was dining once in London with a circle who were discussing the poets, when some one asked if he was fond of Cooper's poems. He replied that he was not aware that Cooper had written poetry, and that he knew him only as a novelist. "Oh," said the other, "we mean our own Cooper, not yours." "I did not know you had a Cooper," said he, "and I know nothing of his poems." A moment later he discovered that they were speaking of Cowper, who was one of his favorites, but whose name he had never heard pronounced in the English way.

Early in the first winter of Mr. Fillmore's administration, Mr. Haven received a letter from him. [An invitation to visit Washington. Mrs. Haven gave an extract from the letter which is printed in full in this volume, pp. 354-357.]

In response to this cordial invitation we went to Washington, and it was there as a member of his household that I learned to know Mr. Fillmore with an ever-increasing admiration of his high-toned character. The calm serenity of manner, which was his distinguishing characteristic, seemed never to fail him, and he met the all changing circumstances of his varied career with dignity and repose.

The sudden and unexpected manner in which Mr. Fillmore was called to the Presidential chair is known to you all. I have heard

him say that the only night in his life in which he never slept for one moment was the night after Gen. Taylor's death. He was overwhelmed by the great responsibilities so suddenly thrust upon him and the shortness of the time for adequate preparation. There was but one precedent to guide him, that of John Tyler, after the death of William Henry Harrison. Gen. Harrison's Cabinet immediately sent in their resignations, which Mr. Tyler courteously declined to accept, requesting them to remain with him. Mr. Fillmore was aware that he might be expected to follow this example, yet he at once accepted the resignation of Gen. Taylor's Cabinet, feeling that he could not assume such grave responsibilities without surrounding himself with men of his own choice, with whom he could work in perfect harmony, and as soon as he could arrange so delicate and important a matter, he had formed that strong Cabinet which began with Daniel Webster and ended with John J. Crittenden.

By the formation of this Cabinet Mr. Fillmore brought together in Washington the old Buffalo firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven, Mr. Fillmore as President of the United States, Judge Hall as Postmaser General and Mr. Haven as Member of Congress. Perhaps it is not known to the younger members of this society that these three men had for sixteen years (not consecutive years) the honor of representing Erie county in the Congress of the United States. Every one who has lived in Washington knows what an influence the Cabinet has in giving tone to society, and in that regard this Cabinet of Mr. Fillmore proved most acceptable to the residents of that city, who always look with the keenest interest at all the changes in this particular branch of the Government. The house of Mr. Webster was always open to hospitality, and at his receptions all who were best worth knowing were to be found. Mr. Crittenden had for years held a high position in Washington, and Mrs. Crittenden is still remembered as one of the brilliant women of her day.

At the White House the entertainments were numerous and were largely attended. The President held a reception every Tuesday morning and a levee on Friday evenings. There was a large dinner in the Congressional dining room on Thursday evenings, and a small one of twenty or more every Saturday evening in the family dining room. Mr. Fillmore received these guests with that courtly dignity which always marked his demeanor, and a resident of Washington, who had seen many Presidents in the White House, told me that in this respect no one of them, with the exception of Franklin Pierce, had even approached Mr. Fillmore.

Since the period of which I write, the etiquette of Washington has greatly changed. At that time the President and his wife never accepted any invitations whatever, and this custom was so rigidly observed that none was ever sent to them, except occasionally for a wedding or some large public function. This was the inflexible rule from the time of Washington down to that of Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Fillmore made one exception. Once a year he dined quietly with Mr. Corcoran, who was a private citizen. But Mrs. Lincoln went to Washington with peculiar views of her own, and she succeeded in breaking down the barriers that had been established from the foundation of the Government, and since then the Presidents have dined with the Cabinet and others of high position. But while

the President and his wife did not visit, they were always expected to have some one in the White House to attend to the social duties, and for this position Miss Fillmore, though only eighteen years of age, was most admirably qualified. Mr. Fillmore was justly proud of his only daughter. Her musical talent was of a high order; she spoke French fluently, and her attractive personality and her rare conversational abilities won the admiration of the numerous guests to whom she was always ready to adapt herself. The President's son, Mr. Powers Fillmore, was private secretary, and upon him devolved the duty of arranging all the details of the dinners and other special entertainments.

When Mr. Fillmore took possession of the Executive Mansion it contained no books, not even a Bible. He applied to Congress for an appropriation, and fitted up as a library the largest and most cheerful room in the second story. Here Miss Fillmore had her own piano and harp, and here Mrs. Fillmore, surrounded by her books, spent the greater part of her time, and in this room the family received their informal visitors. The President had but little time to give to this library, for his labors were arduous, and it was only by the most systematic arrangement, which gave to each hour its own specific duty, that he was able to accomplish the work of the day. But he usually succeeded in leaving the Executive Chamber at 10.30 at night and spending a pleasant hour in the library with his family.

One of the interesting incidents of the winter was a visit from Mr. Fillmore's father. It was the first time that any President had enjoyed the pleasure of entertaining his own father at the Executive Mansion. The morning after his arrival the papers announced that "the venerable father of the President" was at the White House, and there was an unusually large attendance at the reception that day, judges, senators and private citizens, all seeming desirous of paying their respects. Mr. Nathaniel Fillmore was in vigorous health, and as he stood by the side of the President, his tall figure still quite erect, he showed none of the infirmities of age, and appeared somewhat younger than his eighty years. As the President presented the guests to him, each one shook him cordially by the hand, and some of them stopped for a moment's conversation. One man from New York said to him: "You have been so successful in raising sons, I wish you would tell me how to bring up my little boy." "Cradle him in a sap trough," said Mr. Fillmore, always ready with an answer. It was an exciting morning for him, but he seemed to enjoy it, and when it was over and we were alone, he said to me: "If I could have the power of marking out the pathway of life for my son, it would never have led to this place, but I cannot help feeling proud of it now that he is here."

At the close of Mr. Fillmore's administration he and Mrs. Fillmore had planned a journey through the Southern States, when they were to be accompanied by some of the members of the Cabinet, but on the day which they left the White House, Mrs. Fillmore took a violent cold, and in less than four weeks she died at Willard's Hotel.

It was in the dark shadow of this great sorrow that Mr. Fillmore returned to private life. His devotion to his wife was shown in many ways, and it led him to carefully preserve every line she had

ever written to him. He said he could never make up his mind to destroy even the little business notes she sent him at his office.

When, in less than two years after his return to Buffalo, his beloved daughter was taken from him after an illness of only a few hours, the cup of his affliction was filled to overflowing. He could not remain in his home, now so desolate, and he soon left for a year's travel in Europe, a pleasure which but a short time before he had been expecting to enjoy with his daughter. After remaining a widower for nearly six years, Mr. Fillmore was married to Mrs. Caroline McIntosh of Albany. The wedding took place at the home of Mrs. McIntosh, which was the fine old Schuyler mansion, so filled with historic associations connected with our Revolutionary struggle, and a few of us, who were among his most intimate friends, went to Albany with Mr. Fillmore and his son to be present at the ceremony.

In the heat and strife of party conflict Mr. Fillmore was severely criticised, but now that time has softened these animosities, the country seems ready to accord to him an honorable position in the line of our Presidents. No one can deny that during his Administration our country was prosperous at home and respected abroad, and here, where he was best known, all seem ready to unite in pointing to him as an example of an honorable and useful life, and to cherish and revere his memory and to teach their children to be proud of our first Buffalo President.

MR. SELLSTEDT'S TRIBUTE.

Mr. Lars G. Sellstedt said, in part:

It gives me unfeigned pleasure to learn that you are preparing a memorial sketch of the life of the late honored ex-President Millard Fillmore for the Buffalo Historical Society, of which he was, if not the real founder, one of the most prominent, and its first president.

For more than a quarter of a century Mr. Fillmore's public life has been the property of history; his public acts have been approved or censured according to the moral or political bias of his contemporaries. They were sometimes assailed with undeserved bitterness by those who did not understand the patriotism of his motives, but I believe few, if any, questioned the honesty of his purpose.

Beyond everything Mr. Fillmore reverenced Law; to him the Constitution was a sacred document to be kept inviolate. I once asked him while sitting to me for his portrait, why he signed the Fugitive Slave Law, knowing, as he must have known, how unpopular it would make him. His answer was in substance: Mr. Webster and others of his Cabinet advised it, as it was in fact only a measure to give force to a clause of the Constitution generally understood to affect negro slavery. The slave States already threatened secession and it was thought politic to yield to their wishes for a time, knowing that as they would never be able to carry slavery into the territories, the time was not far distant when these would become States, thus giving the political preponderance necessary to change the Constitution so as to abolish slavery.

Mr. Fillmore was a most agreeable sitter, replete with amusing stories, which he told with fine effect. He was always genial and courteous, often amusing, but never losing his dignified manner. He rather prided himself on punctuality, whether in private or public. Always at the hour appointed, whether it was a sitting or a meeting of the Board of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, of which, so long as he lived, he was a member. Once, however, he forgot an engagement with me, and his regret at having failed was almost pitiable. "Mr. Sellstedt," he said, "this is the first time in my life that I have failed to keep an appointment. I have always made it the rule of my life to be punctual."

Mr. Fillmore's art idea was not of a high order. What he liked and understood was objective in the highest degree. Neither do I believe his musical idea was Wagnerian. In poetry it was the farthest from subjective. Pope was his model, and the Essay on Man was his idea of verse. He thought Shakespeare much overrated.

Mr. Fillmore's sense of humor was keen, and in his family or among intimate friends he would contribute his full share at the shrine of Momus.

ADDRESS BY THE HON. JAMES O. PUTNAM.

Mr. President: You have asked for my recollections and impressions, in brief, of Mr. Fillmore in his citizen and public relations.

It is almost a quarter of a century since his death, and his memory may well be recalled in the city of which he was the most distinguished citizen and where his name will ever be held in honor.

During the early years of his Buffalo life his time was divided between his profession and his service in the State and National legislatures, and his citizen relations to Buffalo were not more marked than those of other leading lawyers. Buffalo was a young city, and its institutional life, except its churches and schools, had hardly begun. But at the time of Mr. Fillmore's return to Buffalo in 1853, the city had entered on its later development all along the line of municipal life, and in this development he became an important actor. He was then fifty-three years of age. His large intercourse with the world, his native dignity, and his courtly manner and never-failing courtesy, where courtesy was due, gave him marked distinction. He was not a brilliant or a magnetic man, but he was loyal to friendship and just to all men. If there was any one moral quality to which he paid the deepest reverence, that quality was justice. When that element entered into a question or controversy in any sphere of his action, it became the dominant element to which all others must bow.

Again, referring to his return to Buffalo at the close of his public life, the great question for him to solve was how he could spend his remaining years. He was in full health and mental vigor. An unwritten rule then prevailed that an ex-President, if a lawyer, should not resume the practice of his profession; his business must be to maintain the dignity of a retired President, live in elegant leisure,

adorn salons, and wait patiently for a State funeral. That rule prevailed until Mr. Cleveland, with characteristic independence, at the close of his first term, broke over that network of absurdity, and passed from his Presidential to his law-office chair. Ex-President Harrison followed in the same line, and the rule may now be considered abolished. Mr. Fillmore was a victim of this rule. The city was the gainer if he was the loser. He identified himself with our best institutions, led a life of dignity and of tasteful simplicity, maintaining pleasant relations with his fellow citizens and giving and receiving hospitalities with his friends. He was the first president of the Historical Society, first chancellor of the University of Buffalo, was president of the Buffalo Club, and during the Civil War was the first officer of the "Union Continentals," a military company of middle-aged men. This organization was a moral support of the Government. But these and other important civic relations could give but partial relief from wearisome ennui. For fuller recreation and occupation he resorted to his library, and found in its companionship the best substitute for the activities of his former life. He had no taint of affectation of learning, and welcomed knowledge from whatsoever source it came. So passed his last twenty years.

To the fifteen years of his public and official life we look for the highest illustrations of his conservative character. In this connection I will say that he was often called a lucky man. The late Judge Stow, a conspicuous figure in Buffalo fifty years ago, said, after Mr. Fillmore's election as Vice-President, that he would be President before the four years' term expired; that "General Taylor might defy Mexican bullets, but he could not survive Fillmore's luck." He was certainly a fortunate man, but he served up to every position he ever held, called to them all as an expression of the confidence, first, of his district, then of the State and the Nation, in his ability and the purity of his character. He had no arts but manly arts; was not in the least degree a demagogue. His public confidence served him in place of political finesse and tact, for he had little of either. His personal following in his district in those early days was of solid men, whose nominating conventions were independent and deliberative bodies, not met to ratify some outside decree, but to select proper representatives for the popular suffrage. Mr. Fillmore served three years in the State Legislature and eight years in the National House of Representatives. It is the testimony of his contemporaries that he brought industry, large intelligence, careful study and conscientious purpose to every legislative question on which he was called to act. He left Congress with a national reputation for the solid qualities which make an able legislator, and both the State and Nation regarded him in character and ability equal to their highest honors, which followed in rapid succession.

He succeeded to the Presidency on the death of General Taylor, when the crisis of 1850-51 was at its height. It was the transition period in the sentiment of the Northern States on the subject of slavery. From the time of the acquisition of the new territories from Mexico, the hostility to the system had risen a very tidal wave, every day marking its advance. The struggle of the South to plant slavery in the new territories and of the North to consecrate them

to freedom was maintained with all the passion that vast and antagonistic interests and the most profound convictions could inspire. It was a battle of giants; the stake an empire. What could stay the revolutionary storm? An appeal was made to the only way yet devised in such national crises, except the appeal to war. We know its history. It was the judgment of many patriotic men in and out of Congress that unless the compromise formulated under the leadership of Senator Henry Clay, whose patriotic public career is a glory of the Nation, should be adopted by Congress, civil war would follow and imperil the very existence of the Republic. Those measures, among others, admitted California to the Union, a free State, and abolished the slave trade, not slavery, in the District of Columbia. I visited Washington while the fierce struggle was going on, while Mr. Fillmore was Vice-President, and I well remember his words in an interview I had with him, and the deep sensibility with which he uttered them, which were, in substance, that he shared the opinions and fears of those who favored the compromise. With these impressions he entered upon the Presidency. After Congress had adopted the compromise measures, the whole responsibility of peace or war, as he believed, and as millions of his countrymen believed, rested upon the President. It was easy for those on whom the final responsibility did not rest to appeal to a "higher law" than the Constitution, but where that awful responsibility did rest, the Constitution and its obligations must be his guide. He acted upon the principle avowed by President Lincoln in his letter to Horace Greeley, of date August 12, 1862, when the veteran editor was urging through the *Tribune* an immediate Emancipation Proclamation. Said Lincoln, "I would save the Union; if there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery."

Both Fillmore and Lincoln made the humanities of the slavery question wholly subordinate to the national safety. Why should the President, it may be asked, sanction a compromise with slavery? I answer, because the Government is the offspring of Compromise, which is blazoned all over the Constitution, which is supreme in its fostering care of slavery. At the demand of some of the slave States the Constitution kept open the African slave trade for twenty years, to 1808, so throwing its shield over the miseries of kidnaping wars in Africa and the horrors of the middle passage, whose cruelties converted many a New England slave ship into floating hells. It further provided for the return of fugitive slaves, which required an efficient law of Congress. This provision passed the Constitutional convention by a unanimous vote. These provisions of the Constitution, as it existed down to our Civil War, revealed two things: First, that the Federal Union had never existed but for these provisions; it further shows to us the vast stride the sentiment of humanity had made since the adoption of the Constitution, and this evolution was in the line of the social and moral progress of the age. But while public opinion had made this great advance, the Constitution of the United States remained, with all its obligations, as it stood when Washington penned his signature to it as President of the Constitutional convention.

That humane sentiment was prepared to resist any attempt to return fugitive slaves to bondage under any law. That might be very well for those who had taken no oath to support the Constitution and on whom rested no final responsibility. President Fillmore, who had no more love for the fugitive slave law, *per se,* than had its foes, and who had no part in framing it, with as patriotic a purpose as ever inspired a statesman's action, gave his approval to the whole series of compromise measures as measures of peace and national safety. Then broke the furious storm on his head, its center the fugitive slave law, and he learned that the path which appeared to him, that of official duty, may be the path of obloquy. So Washington suffered when he refused to make an alliance with France in her war with England; so Sir Robert Peel, the Tory premier of Great Britain, when he broke from his party to repeal the corn laws, was branded by the landed aristocracy with the crime of betraying his party, and the poisoned arrows of Disraeli are yet cherished in the armory of Tory hate. But he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had given cheap bread to starving millions of his countrymen and saved England from an agrarian revolution. The conservative power of official responsibility has had recent illustration in English politics. The religious classes in England and leading representatives of public opinion demanded of Lord Salisbury that he compel the Sultan to stop the massacres in Abyssinia. We Americans joined in the cry. The Premier knew that meant war on Turkey, and that war on Turkey by England would precipitate an universal European war, whose wreckage no prophetic vision could measure. Was he wrong, as a statesman, knowing as he did that every European power was the enemy of England, and would rejoice to see her baffled and despoiled? Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and to that law national altruism must bow.

We have not yet realized that dream of idealists who would justify any ruler in sacrificing his own country for any other nation, near or remote.

I further maintain that the principle avowed by President Lincoln and acted upon by President Fillmore, that the saving of the Union should be the supreme policy of administration, was true statesmanship. "Take care that the State suffer no detriment" was the command of Rome to her rulers, the duty of first obligation in the Republic of the United States, as it was in the Republic of Rome.

It is sometimes asked, What was gained by the compromise? I answer, a postponement of the Civil War for ten years, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the border ruffianism to establish slavery in Kansas, the Dred Scott decision nationalizing slavery, the Brooks assault on Senator Sumner and the John Brown tragedy had practically unified the northern sentiment and prepared the North for every needful sacrifice to maintain the Union, from the day of that fatal shot on Fort Sumter, "heard round the world."

In the light of the history of the last fifty years, I ask: Would it have been better for the nation and for civilization had President Fillmore refused to approve those measures passed in constitutional methods, the fugitive slave law included under which hardly more than a half dozen slaves were returned to bondage, and so have opened the flood gates of civil war, imperiling the existence of the

Government and leading to the organization of hostile nations, where now floats our untorn flag over a united people with one heart and one destiny? That is the question for us and for the historian.

Another illustration of Mr. Fillmore's conservative character and action is the Kossuth episode. Almost all the public characters in Washington yielded to the fascinating eloquence of the Hungarian Governor, pleading for intervention by the United States in behalf of his country in its war with Austria. Kossuth took advantage of his presentation to the President to urge such intervention. The President in reply, in a few courteous words, told the Governor that the Government would maintain its neutrality and adhere to the principles of Washington's administration. From that moment the mission of Kossuth was practically ended, although with marvelous eloquence he repeated the woes and hopes of Hungary to large audiences in several cities. Buffalo was one of them, and the melody of his voice and the charm of his eloquence still linger with me like rich strains of music.

The foregoing are, in brief, my recollections and impressions of Mr. Fillmore in his private and public relations, derived from thirty years of personal acquaintance and observation.

There will be in the future Mitfords and Humes to write history with aristocratic sympathies; there will be Grotes and Macaulays to write history with liberal sympathies; I have no doubt the judicial historian of the future who shall comprehend the entire situation of the national crisis of 1850-51 and the constitutional obligations and guarantees in connection with slavery, while declaring the fugitive slave law repugnant to the free spirit of the age, will pronounce Mr. Fillmore's administration one of the purest and wisest in our history, and Mr. Fillmore one of the most conscientious and patriotic executives who, up to his time, had administered the great office of the Presidency.

MR. HIRAM C. DAY'S REMINISCENCES.

I most cheerfully comply with the request made to me on behalf of this society to give you briefly this evening what I saw and learned of our late distinguished fellow citizen, Millard Fillmore, while I was engaged in reading law in the office of Fillmore & Haven. And it seems to me but fair to you at this time that I should frankly acknowledge that there is no man, living or dead, to whom I am more deeply indebted for numerous acts of kindness, attention and advice than Millard Fillmore. It commenced when I first entered his office, and continued long after he was called away by the voice of the whole State to discharge the duties of comptroller, and still later in his life, when called upon by the voice of the whole nation to enter upon a still broader field of public life, until he became President of the United States, the highest office vouchsafed to man in this country. So if I should on this occasion seem to say too much in laudation of Mr. Fillmore, I must ask you to attribute it to that feeling in my bosom (which I pray may never

grow cold) that inspired the Poet Burns to say in his lament for James, Earl of Glencairn:

"But I'll remember thee, Glencairn,
And all that thou hast done for me."

It was quite late in the fall of 1844 (upwards of fifty-four years ago) when I first entered the law office of Fillmore & Haven to commence the study of law. At that time I had not completed my eighteenth birthday, and was residing with my father and mother, in the same house where I was born in this city. Their office was located on the west side of Main street, and was a part of what was then and is still known as the American Block.

Of the lawyers then practicing in Buffalo, I recall the names of but four now surviving, viz., James O. Putnam, whom you will be delighted to hear this evening, and I trust for many years to come; the Hon. James M. Smith, Hon. Nelson K. Hopkins and George B. Hibbard. Of the students then engaged in reading law in the office of Fillmore & Haven there were Lucien Hawley, E. C. Sprague, William Marsh and Millard Powers Fillmore. Of these only one, Mr. Hawley, now survives. It may be possible that Mr. Hawley was then already admitted to the bar, and was simply staying in the office to finish up certain matters with which he was particularly acquainted, but when I entered the office, however, I recollect finding him there, and of his remarking to me that I had better take charge of their books of accounts, which he was then engaged in posting.

The firm of Fillmore & Haven ranked among the ablest and best law firms in the western part of the State, and the volume of business they were doing was very large. Offices of that date were destitute of all conveniences and elegance that are now to be found in first-class offices. The main office in question was about thirty feet front and extended about sixty feet in length, divided in the center. Each office had a counsel room and store room. Mr. Fillmore occupied the rear office, and Mr. Haven and the clerks the front office. Mr. Fillmore, when at work in his office, wore a long, padded morning gown, falling half way below the knee. Both Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Haven were in the habit of working in their office evenings until about ten o'clock, and the students were generally expected to be on hand, either reading or copying. Mr. Fillmore had on his table at night two lamps burning sperm oil, and he occasionally protected his eyes by a green shade. The office was warmed by two large cast-iron box stoves, one in each room, burning wood for fuel.

When I entered the office Mr. Fillmore was away, and remained away for a week or ten days attending a term of the Supreme Court. Upon his return he mentioned the fact that by his absence the students had missed two of his examinations, and that he intended to make them up to the boys, and then appointed that evening for one of them, which was the first in which I took part.

At a quarter past seven that evening Mr. Fillmore was seated in his office in his swivel chair, with two lamps burning behind him and the five students sitting in a half circle in front of him. He would commence with the student sitting at one end of the class

and enquire what he had been reading since the last examination, and whether he had met with anything in his reading which he desired to have explained. On the evening in question Mr. Sprague said he had been reading Practice on Appeals, and was not sure that he fully understood the distinction between going up on a case, or bill of exceptions, or a case containing exceptions, whereupon Mr. Fillmore fully explained the three courses and then examined the several students upon the subject just explained. We adjourned at half past ten, and we had a most agreeable evening; as for myself, I had learned more law than I had acquired during all the time I had been reading. And what was more, I had the opportunity of taking the measurement of the mental equipment or calibre of each fellow student with whom I was thereafter to associate.

To give you a better idea of Mr. Fillmore's examinations and lectures, I have heard him relate a story of Aaron Burr's sharp practice; of the Member of Congress who was a strict Constitutionalist, and being sick, Mr. Fillmore called to see him, when upon Mr. Fillmore's leaving, he remarked, "Now, Mr. Fillmore, if I should die, do not let them bury me in the Congressional Burying Ground, it would not be constitutional; Congress had no right to buy land for a burying ground." He told the story of the ready wit of one of our ministers abroad, who, during the Administration of Jackson, received a call from a high functionary of the Government and was told that the King was about writing General Jackson an autograph letter, and he desired to know whether General Jackson would prefer to have it written in French or Latin; to which our minister replied: "Tell the King to consult his own taste, as General Jackson understands one just as well as the other."

Mr. Fillmore was tenderly alive to everything that would advance the interest of his students or improve them in their profession, morals or manly bearing.

One spring morning when he came into the office, he remarked to me: "Last evening as I was taking a ride with Mrs. Fillmore, we saw you and Powers walking out on Main street and going as though you were walking on a wager; that is undignified and unprofessional." The same day Powers told me his father had made the same observation to him.

In those early days Saratoga and the Falls were the main summer resorts; so that Congressmen and statesmen with whom he was acquainted would make it a point to call upon him at his office, when on their way to the Falls. The first time I saw Thurlow Weed was when Mr. Fillmore brought him into the students' office and introduced him to each of us.

When the fact came to Mr. Fillmore's notice that the State of New York was then publishing, at the expense of several hundred thousands of dollars, the "Natural History of New York," and selling the same for one or two dollars per volume, he mentioned the fact to the students, described its merits, so that those who had a taste that way, and the funds, could secure a copy at that nominal price. When Mr. Fillmore received a letter from Zachary Taylor, congratulating himself upon being nominated upon a ticket with Mr. Fillmore (this was when Mr. Fillmore was still comptroller, but was at the old office on a visit), Mr. Fillmore showed it to all the

students in the office, as in earlier days. The fact was, that no man took more delight, and would do more and go further to make those around him happy, than Millard Fillmore.

I never go to my office library and take from the shelf "Smith on Contracts," an English work first published in this country in 1846 or 1847, but it revives old memories and I find "old tunes my heart is playing," and I see Mr. Fillmore with the same springy step, the same cheerful countenance which he always wore, bidding me good morning, and taking from under his arm a copy of that book, laying it upon my table, saying he had just finished it last evening, and brought it down for me to read, and adding, it was the ablest, clearest and best work on that subject that he had ever read, and to lay aside the other books I was then reading, until I had finished that. I might go on and relate many more instances of this character, but I will close these narrations by saying that, to me, "his coming was a gladness." All of his students could relate instances of the same character pertaining to themselves. I never heard him swear or tell a smutty story, or use a cross or impatient word, and what I have often wondered at is, that I never heard him quote a line of poetry in his conversation, or in his speeches.

When I entered the office as a student, I was told that the sweeping of the office, the building of fires, and the filling of lamps and care of the same fell to the youngest student. That duty I performed for nine or ten months while no new student made his appearance, and I almost became a Millerite by singing the old song I used to hear them sing in my youthful days:

"Fly swift around, ye wheels of time, and bring the welcome day."

At last he made his appearance. He came from the Falls. Mr. William E. Woodruff was his name, and I greeted him most cordially. He was quite good looking and was told his duties. He carried the letters to the postoffice twice or three times a day, and brought up the mail, filled and trimmed the lamps, etc. After a month or two he got tired, sickened of the job, and came to a dead stop. Mr. Fillmore, one afternoon, was sitting at his table with his office gown on, when he called out: "There are several letters in the letter box which should be taken to the postoffice at once in order to have them go off by the four o'clock mail." After a little time Mr. Fillmore called out again that "there are only a few minutes left to get those letters into the postoffice." I looked at Woodruff, but he stirred not, and I felt I had graduated at that business and remained passive. Mr. Fillmore rose up, and with a sprightly step hung up his working gown, put on his dress coat and came into our room, took the letters, and with his usual dignity, but a little more haste than usual, started for the postoffice. He must have made pretty good time, for he soon reappeared at the office, and addressing us, said: "Boys, I don't think the stairs have been swept down for two weeks, they are very dirty; any lady coming up these stairs would soil her dress. I wish one of you would take the broom and sweep them down." Thereupon he withdrew to his own room. I remained quiet, having served my time at that work, and I felt that I was entitled to a full discharge. The other students not showing any movement in that line, Mr. Fillmore hung up his dress

coat, put on his working gown, took a broom and started in sweeping the hall and stairs from top to bottom. Like everything which Mr. Fillmore undertook, this duty was performed thoroughly, and the hall and stairs were well and thoroughly cleaned. Upon his return to our room with his working gown still on, and with broom in hand, he paused and addressing me, said: "Mr. Day, you have been here a long time, and I observe that things do not go on as formerly," and referred to the letters and sweeping of the hall and stairs; "can you tell me the cause?" To this I replied: "Yes, Mr. Fillmore, I can. When I came into this office I was told that the work of sweeping out the office each morning, making fires, filling and trimming lamps, etc., fell upon the youngest student, and that work I have performed for nine or ten months. When Mr. Woodruff came into the office as a clerk he was told the same thing, and entered upon the performance of the same duties I had taken charge of so long, and I supposed I had thus earned a full and complete discharge from further performance of those duties. Mr. Woodruff, after performing that work for five or six weeks, got heartily sick of it, and refuses to do it any longer." Mr. Fillmore's reply to this was: "It is more than one clerk should be called upon to perform; all of you clerks are paid by the firm two dollars a week, except my son Powers, and I am willing that my son should share the work equally with the others, and that one student should perform that work for a month, and then another should take it." To that I quickly replied: "Mr. Fillmore, that would have been a very good rule had you started in with it when I first came into this office nine or ten months ago. I have performed my work under an entirely different understanding, and it looks like an attempted imposition upon me to ask me now to come in and share equally with the other clerks in the performance of this work."

At that moment, Mr. Haven, who had been out trying a case, returned with his papers, and upon opening the door was struck with the strange spectacle that presented itself to his sight. There stood Mr. Fillmore arrayed in his working gown, with broom in hand, addressing the meeting. Mr. Haven's quick eye and appreciation for the ludicrous was aroused, and he asked with a look of astonishment, "What's up now?" Mr. Fillmore proceeded to explain. To all this Mr. Haven replied: "I have often said to you, Mr. Fillmore, that I thought Mr. Day was as good a clerk as we ever had, but so far as I am concerned, if we cannot get along without this trouble, I would rather discharge the whole lot of clerks, and make a new deal," and throwing his papers on the desk went to work, while the rest of the company resumed their old positions.

Drawing no great consolation from this interview, I at once proceeded to make up affidavits of all declarations and orders which I had served and write up the law register. That evening I came back to the office and posted up the account books of the firm, and the next morning swept out the office and put that in order, went down to the postoffice and brought up the mail. Mr. Fillmore by this time had got seated at his office table at work. I bade him good morning and, handing him the mail, said: "Mr. Fillmore, have you concluded that I must hereafter take my turn with the other clerks in sweeping and doing the office drudgery, for if you have, I have made

up my mind to quit and seek other quarters?" He replied that he had not talked with Mr. Haven on the subject, but would do so as soon as he came back. Shortly after Mr. Haven made his appearance, and Mr. Fillmore called him into his room. When Mr. Haven came out from that interview, he came to me and said he was sorry for the condition of things, and I might write myself in a credit on the books of the firm to satisfy me and compensate me for my extra labor. That I refused to do, and so he wrote in a fair sum, and said the side room off of the front office, which had formerly been fitted up and furnished, and occupied by one of the clerks for a bedroom, was again to be occupied by one of them, who would attend the office, the building of the fires, etc., and he thought thereafter I would have no cause to complain. So I remained and had no cause to regret it.

And here let me speak of Mr. Haven's thoughtfulness and kindness. I had not been in the office a month when there was laid on my table to be copied a Bill in Chancery and answer, covering over three hundred folios; when I had copied about one-third, Mr. Haven discovered it and asked me what I was copying, and when I told him, he with some little indignation said: "I don't want you to copy any more of those papers; give the balance over to Mr. Ross to copy, he was hired for the sole purpose of copying." He continued, "I often feel pains in my back even now, owing to overwork in copying deeds in the Clerk's Office when at your age."

After the question which arose about the clerk's work had been disposed of, I thought I detected in Mr. Fillmore's intercourse with me a little coolness and reserve, which I had not noticed before, but my mind was soon disabused of that impression.

In the fall of 1846 Mr. Fillmore was nominated by the Whig Party as a candidate for State Comptroller. Two years before he ran for Governor of the State and was defeated. During that election the "search lights" of the Democratic Party were turned full upon him, but they failed to disclose a blot or blemish upon his character, and though defeated, he stood higher than before in the affection of his party, and had the respect of all the citizens of the State. He was triumphantly elected Comptroller. Shortly after his election he made a visit to Albany to secure apartments for himself and family, and take a survey of the Comptroller's office, of which he was soon to take charge.

Mr. Fillmore was absent on this visit some time, and when he returned he appeared considerably elated. He could not well feel otherwise, by reason of the reception which he received on all hands while at the capital. He plainly saw in that light that henceforth his life was not to be passed in the practice of law, but in the full blaze of public life, where he was to be a prominent actor.

Upon his return he sought to close out all his law matters and dispose of his law library to his partner, Mr. Haven. The sale of his law library was as funny as a circus. I had made out a list of his books, and he and Mr. Haven had examined it and negotiated for their sale for some considerable time, but a difference of twenty-five cents a volume still separated them, when Mr. Fillmore said: "Mr. Haven, to settle this matter let us flip a cent; if it comes up head, you will pay me my price, if tail, you can have them at

your price." "Agreed," said Mr. Haven. Mr. Fillmore commenced walking the floor and feeling in his pockets for the desired cent, at last produced it (one of those large, old fashioned cents) and said: "Haven, here's a go." "No! No!" replied Mr. Haven, and hurriedly making his way in front of Mr. Fillmore, said: "Mr. Fillmore, you have been spending the last three weeks down at Albany with a political gang of cunning politicians, just long enough to learn their ways and tricks, and I want to examine that cent, to see if you have not got a double header." Haven took the cent and after a careful examination handed it back. Fillmore smiled, Haven's countenance was unchanged, but the rest of the company laughed heartily. The cent came up heads, and the bargain was closed.

Mr. Fillmore's residence on Franklin street was to be rented furnished, so he took William H. Andrews, one of the clerks, with him to make an inventory of the books. When they returned with the list Mr. Andrews had a copy of "Gil Blas," which Mr. Fillmore gave him, finding the library contained duplicates. Mr. Fillmore remarked that John Quincy Adams once said he had made it a point to read "Gil Blas" through once a year, and that he never read it through without new delight and increased knowledge.

Shortly after this commendation of "Gil Blas," in looking over some old speeches and documents in the office, I chanced to take up a speech of John Quincy Adams, made in Congress in defense of certain provisions of a bill to which some member had taken exceptions. Mr. Adams in reply said it reminded him of a story told by the author of "Gil Blas," of some clerk who lived to be thirty odd years old before falling in love; at that age men are more careful and circumspect in such matters than they are at twenty or twenty-five. To arrive at a just estimate of the lady's merits he opened a credit and debit account in her name; on the credit side of which he set down her merits, and on the debtor side he had charged up her defects, and found on striking a balance her merits greatly exceeded her defects. But still he was fearful that his posting might be incorrect, so he called on a married man and requested him to examine the account and see if his posting was correct. The first charge which met the married man's attention on the debtor side was: "She is slow in speech." The married man expressed the greatest astonishment at the charge, and remarked that before he had been married six months he would change that on the credit side and thank Heaven. Adams claimed that before the law had been in operation six months, the gentleman objecting would change the objection to hearty approval.

When Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Andrews returned to the office from making a list of the private library, Mr. Fillmore said to Mr. Andrews that, while at the Comptroller's office in Albany, he found he would have at his disposal a clerkship which carried a very nice salary, that would just suit Mr. Andrews and keep him in touch with the profession, and bring him in contact with some of the best lawyers all over the State. The clerkship related to the cancellation of irregular and void taxes. It would also leave him some time to read law, if so disposed, then when he was admitted, it would enable him to purchase a nice library and be independent. Mr. Andrews

promptly accepted the position. He discharged the duties of the office to the satisfaction of all concerned, and continued in the same position under Washington Hunt, who was Mr. Fillmore's successor in that office. Above all this appointment was made by Mr. Fillmore when there was no civil service rule to forbid it. I mentioned this appointment of Mr. Andrews in corroboration of the statement made a little while ago, that with Mr. Fillmore it seemed to be a study and a pleasure for him to lend a helping hand to the young and deserving struggling for a position in life.

It was now fast approaching the time when Mr. Fillmore was to take his departure for the capital, and there assume the duties of his new office. On a Saturday afternoon he came to my table and stated to me that Mr. Charles D. Norton had applied to him to give him the agency of all his business in the city, and that Mr. E. C. Sprague had also made the same request, but that upon reflection he had concluded to place all his matters in my hands and constitute me his agent, if I would accept it; but that he could not pay a large commission. I thanked him, and the next day made out a list of his bonds and mortgages, amounting to upwards of $30,000. He owned the homestead on Franklin street, now occupied by Mrs. Gay; two houses on Seneca street, one of which was occupied by Mr. Baker, the father of our worthy postmaster; the other I rented to Captain Charles L. Gager. He also owned a vacant lot on the northwest corner of Main and Tupper streets, where he expected to have erected a dwelling for himself. This vacant lot was sold during my agency to the late Henry Martin.

Having been admitted to the bar in 1848, I opened an office in the "Old Postoffice Buildings," as now called, but at that time the only postoffice we had. I wrote Mr. Fillmore of my admission and intention to open an office for myself, and therein suggested that it might have been on account of my being a student in Mr. Haven's office, and the further fact that I would probably remain with him until I was admitted, that induced him to make me his agent, and that I was ready, upon an intimation from him, to pass his mortgages, etc., over to Mr. Haven or anyone else whom he might designate. Mr. Fillmore promptly replied that I was mistaken, that he constituted me his agent because he knew his matters in my hands would be faithfully attended to, and when I removed to my new office to take his safe and mortgages along with me, which I did.

In November, 1848, Mr. Fillmore was elected Vice-President on the ticket with Zachary Taylor. Thereupon, Mr. Fillmore sent in his resignation as Comptroller, to take effect February 1, 1849. The political changes in the life of Mr. Fillmore, now taking place so suddenly, brought his family back to their old homestead on Franklin street, and sent Mr. Fillmore on to Washington to preside over the Senate as Vice-President.

About this time, while spending an evening with Miss Fillmore in the library, the door bell rang, and a couple of gentlemen were ushered in and seated in the drawing-room; after a pause of a few minutes, no cards having been brought for Miss Fillmore, she concluded that the call was intended for her mother, and our conversation was resumed. But in about twenty minutes or so Mrs. Fillmore opened the library door and walked in, bidding me good evening,

came and seated herself by my side and said she came to consult with me. She then said that the Mayor of Buffalo, Judge H. K. Smith, had called, and some other high functionary of some Canadian railroad, just completed, was with him. They announced that preparation was being made for a grand opening to take place at Hamilton, Canada, in the near future, and their object in calling was to obtain her promise that she would attend the opening, so that the public could be assured that the wife of the Vice-President of the United States would honor the occasion with her presence, and the Mayor promised to escort her over and back and see that she was properly cared for. When I looked into her face I could hardly keep from laughing, for it was plain to be seen that she took in the humor of the whole thing. She closed by saying, "Had I better attend?" After some consideration, she went back and said that she had taken counsel on the subject and could not attend. It was not long after that when the front door closed, and Mrs. Fillmore came back and joined us. It was plain to be seen that she was in the best of spirits; indeed, she sought to make her home the seat of every intellectual pleasure, and those about her happy. With the poet she claimed—

> "The world has nothing to bestow,
> From our own selves our joys must flow,
> And they are fools who roam."

Speaking of their library, she said Mr. Fillmore never went to New York without bringing home a few books with him, and was often followed or preceded by a package sent by express. She said that when the overflow of books greatly exceeded her spare shelf room she would sent for Staats or Hersee and have a new section built on the case. You could see it was a pleasure for Mrs. Fillmore to receive the new books and provide for their suitable shelter.

Mrs. Fillmore's maiden name was Powers, and she was related to the great Leland family, that embraced several thousands within its lines. Her friends, it was said, objected to her marrying Mr. Fillmore, but she did not heed their admonition. Somewhere near twenty years had passed away, when Mr. and Mrs. Fillmore received an invitation to attend a gathering of the great family of Lelands, at some city within this State. I saw that the invitation created more than ordinary feelings in both of them. All due preparations were made, and the time for departure arrived. Mr. Fillmore was forty-five or forty-six years of age at that time, in the pride of manly beauty, his wife was a year or two his senior, but no one would have suspected it, as she then appeared in the very perfection of womanhood. The Leland family numbered several thousands. I think there were between one and two thousand who made their appearance in that assembly. It would have been an inspiring scene for a painter to mark their entry in that congregation, with the glow of triumph on their cheeks. Mr. Fillmore's name was a household word in most of the families of this State, and in that assembly he was voted the "noblest Roman of them all." That trip for a long time afterwards furnished a favorite subject for conversation by the firesides of both parties.

In 1851, having formed a co-partnership with W. H. Andrews, an old fellow student, and finding that my business would take me

to New York in January, 1852, I concluded when the business was closed, if everything was propitious, I would go on to Washington and visit the family and see the sights at the capital, indulging the belief that I could never visit it under more favorable auspices than during Mr. Fillmore's term of office. Concluding my business in New York, I started for Washington, and arrived there about the 8th of January, 1852. I called on Mr. Fillmore the same day of my arrival, and was received very cordially, and was invited to dine with the family. At dinner Mr. Fillmore mentioned the fact that he and Mrs. Fillmore did not attend parties or balls; that pleasure was reserved for the younger members of the family. He mentioned the fact that on the next night or two there was to be a great ball, where the best families of Washington would be seen, and thereupon directed Powers to go with me in the morning and introduce me to one of the managers of the ball, so that I could secure a ticket, and that I could escort Abby, and Powers could accompany a lady visiting them, and all go in the family carriage. We all attended as arranged by Mr. Fillmore and had a very pleasant time. A day or two after this Mr. Fillmore remarked that Mrs. Webster's party would take place on such an evening, and turning to Powers told him to enclose my card with his to Mrs. Webster, which would secure me an invitation to her party which I could attend as before with Abby, while Powers could accompany the visiting guest. The invitation came, and then I saw the great Daniel Webster in his own home. In the same manner we attended a party given by the wife of the Postmaster-General, suggested and planned by Mr. Fillmore. On another occasion, while at the White House, he said to me that Daniel Webster, his Secretary of State, told him he was to argue a case in the Supreme Court of the United States on a certain day, and remarked to me while there, I ought to get admitted to that court and that Powers would take me over to the court in the morning, and introduce me to Mr. Webster, and have him make the motion for my admission, and then turning to me Mr. Fillmore said: "It will be no little honor to be admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States on motion of the Honorable Daniel Webster." I remained in Washington until after both Houses of Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1852, and afterwards accompanied Mrs. Fillmore, her daughter and son to New York.

I have recited a few of the many favors I have received at the hands of Millard Fillmore, which made me acknowledge my indebtedness to him, greater than to any other man living or dead.

I think it was Plutarch, who, speaking of such acts and incidents in the life of a great man, says they often give us a better insight into the true character of the man than is found in elaborate biographies. "'Tis only noble to be good."

I think it was Alexander Hamilton, who, in speaking of John Adams, says: "He was always honest, sometimes able, but always mad." If we look at Millard Fillmore in those three conditions or relations of life, we find him always scrupulously honest. He never would permit anyone to credit him for more than he actually was entitled to. As chancellor of the Buffalo Medical College, when he came to confer the degrees and present diplomas to the members of the first graduating class, the faculty begged of him to make the

presentation speech in Latin, and they kindly wrote out the formula for him in Latin. "No! No!" said Mr. Fillmore, "I don't understand Latin, and if I make the presentation speech, it must be in English," and it was so made. "Paint me as I am," said Cromwell.

When Commodore Perry brought home, on his return from his famous expedition to Japan, a cask of wine which he had purchased at the Island of Madeira, for Mr. Fillmore, it was told him it would be unnecessary for him to pay duty upon it, the same coming in a warship and not in a merchantman. Mr. Fillmore shook his head and said, "No, not for me, I pay the same duties that are charged by law to any other of our citizens." Measured by that old and reliable standard, he was entitled to be called "the noblest work of God."

He was always able; every duty which fell to his lot to perform was discharged with dignity, grace and ability.

When South Carolina became indignant upon Mr. Fillmore sending a fleet to Charleston Harbor, and officially questioned him as to his object and authority in so doing, the answer came prompt and to the point: "By virtue and authority of the Constitution of the United States, which has made the President Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and who recognizes no responsibility for his official action to the Governor of South Carolina."

One can readily see, if it did not fall to our lot to see Mr. Fillmore get mad on any occasion, from the above crisp answer, sent to the Governor of South Carolina, behind that smiling face and courteous bearing there slumbered a world of latent passion and of power like the fires in the furnace of a great ship at rest, banked and watched, ready at call.

LETTERS.

Testimony, Tribute and Reminiscences from Friends unable to be present on "Fillmore Evening."

FROM JAMES K. HOSMER.

Minneapolis, Minn., December 7, 1898.

Andrew Langdon, *Esq., President of the Buffalo Historical Society:*

Dear Sir: I am very happy to write you a letter about Mr. Fillmore. While there must be many still living who remember far more about him than I do, I may possibly be able to add a touch or two to the picture you are trying to make of your old president and founder.

My father came to Buffalo in 1836, finding, I think, Mr. and Mrs. Fillmore already in the Unitarian Church; at any rate he stood to them very early in the relation of pastor. I well remember Mr. Fillmore in his best years; so, too, his excellent wife. I remember the son, Mr. Powers Fillmore, as he was just emerging from boy-

hood; and the daughter, Miss Abby, the strong and beautiful girl who died of cholera upon the threshold of womanhood. For thirty years the relations of my father and mother with the Fillmores were intimate and cordial; at no time was there any break in the friendship. "The thing that I have against you," said a brusque and candid friend to my father once, "is that you did not drive the man who signed the Fugitive Slave Law out of your congregation." My father was unflinching and outspoken in his anti-slavery views, though indeed he could never stand with those whose motto was that the Constitution of the United States "was a covenant with Death and an agreement with Hell." If he failed to drive Mr. Fillmore out of his congregation, it was not because he was at all reticent before the President. He not only spoke his disapproval of the President's policy, but emphasized it in deed, voting squarely against Mr. Fillmore when he came up as a candidate for a second term. It is a fact most creditable to Mr. Fillmore that he was not estranged by his pastor's honest disapproval, never withdrawing his friendship even in the face of differences so grave; as on the other hand it is creditable to the minister that he recognized and did justice to substantial goodness in his parishioner, even while in the difficult crisis he seemed to swerve.

When Mr. Fillmore died, Dr. Hosmer, then a pastor in Massachusetts, spoke of him as follows: "Friends, my heart turns to its old home at Buffalo, and to the late departures there of President Fillmore and his Postmaster General, Nathan K. Hall. I knew them well, my parishioners as they were for thirty years. I did not always agree with their policy. I dissented utterly from the Fugitive Slave Bill which was put forward in hope to save the country from civil war, Mr. Fillmore saying to me when I protested against it, 'It is better to do that than that half the nation should be butchered.' They erred. It was terrible for Mr. Fillmore to come to the head of the Government at that time. He meant to be fair; though the South was imperious, he would do them justice. He dreaded war; by any and every means he would save his country from such calamity as war must bring. When Congress by a large majority passed the Fugitive Slave Bill, then for the sake of peace he thought it best to sign it. Now all can see, and some saw it then, it was only postponing the horror. But I know Mr. Fillmore was honest, unspotted by corruption, and never thought of the nation's capital as a place to make money or satisfy selfish ambition. No goods of the nation clung to him; his hands were clean. Integrity and economy kept him safe. A letter that he wrote to me, when he suddenly found himself at the head of the Government, reveals the strong earnestness with which he took up his great duty. In serious words he said how deep he felt his dependence on God, and with all his heart sought His guidance. His domestic character was quite remarkable. He loved his home. When absent at Albany or later at Washington, he wrote a letter to his wife and excellent wife every day. Once she said she was not receiving her daily letter, for her husband, being the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, found time to write only every other day. A daily letter to a wife at home would do something to purify life at Washington."

Among my father's papers are interesting accounts of experiences in which Mr. Fillmore was a central figure. I quote the following passage from an old letter:

March 3rd, 1851, at WASHINGTON.

I find a world of things and people here, to be seen and studied, and I have had a fine opportunity. I have stayed with Judge Hall, Postmaster General, but am often at the President's quite familiarly. I have seen the lions; they are certainly not what at a distance they seem. I had the pleasure of waiting upon two aged men to Washington, my father-in-law, Reverend Dr. Kendall of Plymouth, and Esquire Fillmore, father of the President. They both are more than eighty years old. On the journey, at one time, Mr. Fillmore told us of his early life in the woods; and how when Millard was born he went seven miles through the forest for a physician, and when he returned found the baby boy rocking in a sap trough for want of a better cradle.

When we reached Washington, Mr. Fillmore stepped into the President's carriage which was awaiting his arrival; and Dr. Kendall and I went to Judge Hall's. Finding that the President's last reception for the season was to be that evening, we hastened to be there. As we entered the reception room, we saw the President with his Cabinet and his family, his father at his side. As soon as we had been cordially received, Dr. Kendall drew me aside and whispered, "Was there ever since the world began such a contrast as that group and the baby in the sap trough?" It was indeed a contrast. The President was a handsome man in the prime of life, of fine bearing. His father was venerable, tall and not much bowed down by his eighty years. His full grey hair and intelligent face at once drew attention, and he stood there by his son as no other father then had done, as calm and self-possessed as in his justice's court in some log cabin of Western New York. I was to be in Washington a few weeks, and Esquire Fillmore was to return home with me, but one day I met him, and he said, "I am going home tomorrow." I said, "But why not wait for me?" "No, no," he said, "I will go. I do not like it here; it isn't a good place to live; it isn't a good place for Millard. I wish he were at home in Buffalo."

About this time an incident occurred, which again can best be given in my father's words. Writing from Buffalo, he says:

My friends at Washington have been trying to make me independent in pecuniary affairs, and how do you think they propose to do it? They have offered me a chaplaincy in the navy, which will give me eight hundred dollars a year, and I stay here and be pastor of my parish as now. Or, if I pleased, I might be appointed to some pleasant squadron service for a year, see the world, and have a respite, receiving the full pay of a chaplain, some fifteen hundred dollars a year. But I have declined. I have but one short life to give to any service, and I shall not give that to the army or navy. Nor will I have my name upon the rolls of the navy, though by suffering even this I might never go near a ship of war and get eight hundred dollars, at least during this administration. I do not expect to do my country any signal service, but I will not take public money for doing nothing. I suppose my friends think me a fool; well, I can bear that.

At this time Dr. Hosmer was nearly or quite a professor of peace principles, though later when the Civil War broke out, he gave them up. His salary barely supported his family; his own health he felt to be insecure; five children, the oldest just ready to go to Cambridge, were to be educated and started in life. The opportunity offered by Mr. Fillmore was sacrificed without a moment's hesitation, greatly to the disgust of many of Dr. Hosmer's best friends, who felt that he was much too punctilious. It is to the credit of Mr. Fillmore, however, that he saw and respected thoroughly this sacrifice of advantage to a spirit of independence and high sense of duty. The rejection of this office by Dr. Hosmer only called out from the President a stronger feeling of friendship and esteem.

Whenever he was in Buffalo, Mr. Fillmore was constant in his place at church, and it not infrequently happened that he brought with him distinguished company.

John Quincy Adams writes in his diary:

"Oct. 29th, 1843, Buffalo. Mr. Fillmore offered us seats in his pew at the Unitarian Church, which we accepted. The preacher was Mr. Hosmer; Matthew 6th, 31; an excellent and eminently practical sermon."

Still more memorable, early in 1861, Mr. Fillmore stood in his usual place, serene, clear-complexioned, with a courtly grace of bearing that had lately won admiration for him in the great courts of Europe, as it before had done in the White House. By his side stood a man, gaunt, angular, sallow, who, with melancholy face, bent reverently at the sound of prayer. The minister spoke with solemn words. Then coming from his pulpit, looked for a moment into the serious eyes of the visitor while he pressed his hand. It was Abraham Lincoln, passing on to the fulfillment of his stormy destiny; even while the tumultuous forces, which were to convulse the continent and accomplish at last his martyrdom, were beginning their thunderous outburst.

On October 16th of this same year, an incident occurred which made plain the strong regard which Mr. Fillmore bore toward his pastor. The Unitarian parish assembled to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Dr. Hosmer's settlement in Buffalo and Mr. Fillmore, in behalf of the church, presented him with a service of silver. Pastor and parishioner had widely differed; the latter's public course had been disapproved; his well-intentioned kindness had been rejected; but Mr. Fillmore said: "This is but a slight testimony of our appreciation of your long, arduous and successful labors among us. I cannot enter into a detailed account of what you have done, nor of the beneficial influence you have exerted; but I must say that with a meek and unassuming Christian deportment, an unspotted reputation, and a disinterested benevolence, you have given your heart and soul to every benevolent object, to every charitable establishment, and every literary enterprise. These works are held in grateful remembrance, and for them we delight to honor you. We have dwelt together in peace, sympathizing with each other, rejoicing in prosperity and mourning in adversity. It is impossible that this relation should have existed so long without creating on your part a tender pastoral regard for those over whose welfare you have watched with so much solicitude; and I am happy to be able to assure you that we reciprocate, with grateful hearts and filial affection, the warm attachment which you feel for us."

Mr. Fillmore's connection with the Unitarian church did not continue until the end of his life. His second wife was of another faith; and while it is probable that his own religious convictions underwent no change, the atmosphere of the Unitarian body became uncongenial to him. A large proportion of its most enterprising minds professed a radical political creed. "No compromise with slaveholders" was the watchword; all who were disposed to temporize were condemned, and the name of Mr. Fillmore, as a leader among those who had tried to pursue a middle course, was often a mark of execration. A suggestion that he should be invited to preside at

a yearly meeting of the American Unitarian Association at Boston met with no favor; it was feared indeed that if he came it would be made the occasion of an outbreak of passionate disapproval. I think, however, that it was not until after Dr. Hosmer's departure from Buffalo, in 1866, that Mr. Fillmore withdrew. His personal regard for my father remained unbroken; and when some six or seven years later many friends expressed a desire that Dr. Hosmer might return, Mr. Fillmore was among those who stood ready to welcome him.

I do not know that I can say anything more. What I have narrated relates to my father's relation to Mr. Fillmore rather than my own. I began my course at Harvard a boy of seventeen, and after that time had knowledge of Buffalo only after long intervals and for short periods. While Mr. Fillmore's stately presence and genial manners are vivid in my recollection, I do not recall ever being in his home. I do not recall ever having conversed with him except in the way of an interchange of greetings—a good natured man giving a pleasant word to a small boy as he passed on his way. I believe him to have been a thoroughly worthy man. He may not have done the wisest thing in his difficult place. But we are to remember that the problem that confronted him is the most difficult that has ever confronted Americans—the establishment of a proper relation between white and black—a problem against which many reputations have undergone shipwreck—a problem at the present moment scarcely less pressing than it was fifty years since, when Mr. Fillmore was in the forefront of the strivers. I am heartily glad the Historical Society has it in mind to honor the memory of its first president, useful and able citizen that he was!

Very respectfully yours,
JAMES K. HOSMER.

FROM A. M. CLAPP.

1004 M ST., N. W.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 18, 1898.

ANDREW LANGDON, *Esq., President of the Buffalo Historical Society:*

. . . Though I have known ex-President Fillmore for more than three score years, as neighbor, partisan and friend, I count myself illy equipped to add any material of interest to the reminiscences that cover the period of a long and honored career that has filled a chapter in the history of our common country. I was in my 'teens, and a school-boy, when I began to know Millard Fillmore, in the village of Aurora, Erie county, N. Y., where he had been admitted to the bar, and had entered in the contest that eventuated some twenty years later in his occupying the Executive Chair of this nation. Our paths were lined in devious directions. His led through the labyrinths of the legal profession, while I was following, in a humble way, the paths that led Benjamin Franklin to the sphere of American statesmanship that brought success to his career.

Ex-President Fillmore and myself subsequently became neighbors and friends in the city of Buffalo, where we had our homes until

1869, when I was called to Washington to follow the patron saint of the art of printing, in the service of my Government. I allude to this here, only to show what opportunities I have had for knowing President Fillmore as well as others could know him, as a neighbor and friend, who followed him as implicitly in his earlier political career as his shadow followed his body.

You ask me to furnish you some characteristic anecdotes or recollection of him that will furnish a reflex of his every-day life. In this I have no resource of record or memory. Mr. Fillmore, for all the years I knew him, was pursuing the even tenor of his way by a sober and sedate path, which ever found him complacent, courteous and affable as a companion, and yet he never sought those ways that led into the lines of anecdotes or jokes to amuse friends, or witticisms that would win *éclat*. He sought to secure his ends by those agencies that appeal to the sober judgments and not the passions of his fellow-men. His personal and intimate friends were not numerous. He never sought applause that was vociferous, but such as came of his own sedate judgment, with that he was always content.

I cannot call up in recollection an instance in which he resorted to anecdote, or a joke, or a sparkling repartee for effect's sake. His hilarity was never of a boisterous character. I cannot call the time when he indulged in laughter that would disturb the proprieties and harmonies of the most delicate occasion. He was ever courteous toward an adversary, and in all his private life or public career I cannot recollect the time when he did not fill the role of an American gentleman.

I have heard it said of him that when his law firm of Fillmore, Hall & Haven were in their heydey of prosperity, in the line of their profession as successful lawyers, an occasion occurred in which Judge Talcott, who was an inveterate joker, attempted to make Mr. Fillmore a party to a lively anecdote, but without success. A suit was on in court, in which Mr. Fillmore was interested and had taken some part earlier in the trial. A noted barrister by the name of Sherwood—I think he was called Tom, for short, and counted as a sort of bull-dog in the profession—was against Mr. Fillmore, who had opened the case. Mr. Sherwood indulged in the remark that his adversaries had played out their right bower in the case. This allusion attracted Mr. Fillmore's attention, and he turned to Mr. Talcott near him with the inquiry, "What does Mr. Sherwood mean by that remark?" The Judge attempted to enlighten the innocence of Mr. Fillmore by saying, "Don't you know that is a term used in a game of euchre? and it means the greatest knave in the deck." Mr. Fillmore turned blandly away, and sought no further enlightenment on the national game.

It may not be out of place here to call your attention to the part ex-President Fillmore bore in the War of 1861 to 1865. He was then living in his palatial home in your city in the quiet of private life, surrounded by all that man wants here below, but his country was at war within itself. The Union was in peril, but his services were not required to preserve its life. This, however, did not deter him from seeking a line of duty under volunteer service. A meeting of some 130 citizens was called, and the Buffalo Union Continentals

was organized as a home guard to provide against any exigency that might arise from local causes. The organization was perfected by the election of the following officers: Captain, Millard Fillmore; first lieutenant, Nathan K. Hall; second lieutenant, Cyrus P. Lee; ensign and color-bearer, A. M. Clapp.

This organization survived the War, and then was numbered among the past. But while it lived it performed funeral rites over the remains of Gen. D. D. Bidwell, whose remains now rest in Forest Lawn.

When President Lincoln was assassinated, his remains passed through your city *en route* to Springfield, Ill., for burial.

To the Union Continentals was consigned the honorable part of serving as bodyguard to the President's remains while they were detained in that city. Ex-President Fillmore continued in command of the Union Continentals up to the day of his death. The roster of the company has but few names that have not been numbered with the great majority.

I introduce this incident into this paper lest it might be overlooked otherwise, and I know that if ex-President Fillmore were living he would continue his identity with this organization in history as well as while living. I may be mistaken, but I entertain the belief that I am the only survivor of the Union Continentals, and when I count my years on the calendar, I am admonished that I shall soon be counted among the great majority on the other side of the river.

Truly yours,

A. M. Clapp.[1]

MR. FILLMORE AND THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Baltimore, November 14, 1898.

Andrew Langdon, *Esq., President Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.:*

Dear Sir: I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 8th instant, in which you state that the Buffalo Historical Society will at its next annual meeting pay a tribute to the memory of Millard Fillmore, its first president, and ask us to contribute any notes or facts in our possession which may be apropos to the occasion.

Mr. Fillmore was elected an honorary member of this society on June 5, 1851, whilst President of the United States, and continued on the rolls of the society until his death.

The bust in plaster which we possess was received by the society June 4, 1857, from Mr. Samuel K. George, one of its members, now long since deceased. If there was a letter accompanying the gift it has disappeared from the files.

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1. Almon M. Clapp in early years published the Aurora *Standard* at what is now East Aurora, N. Y.; was an editor of the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser;* in 1846 founded the Buffalo *Express;* he served in the New York Legislature, and was Postmaster at Buffalo, 1861-66; was appointed Public Printer in 1877, and after service in that office published the *National Republican* of Washington. He was born in Connecticut, 1811, and died in Washington, Apr. 9, 1899.

From Mr. Samuel K. George, son of the deceased donor of the bust, I have the following memorandum:

In May, 1855, I crossed the ocean with my father, the late Saml. K. George, in the Collins Line steamer Atlantic, Capt. West. My roommate was the late Enoch Pratt, and among the passengers were Col. Sam. Colt and Hon. Millard Fillmore. During the winter of '55 and '56 Mr. Fillmore visited Rome, and was introduced by my father to the studio of Bartholomew, the American artist. Mr. Fillmore sat for his bust; the original I suppose must be in the possession of his family, and my father ordered the plaster cast which he sent to the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Fillmore was strikingly like Pope Pius IX., and their resemblance was a subject of pleasant comment during his private interview with his Holiness *Pio Nino*. I have written this at the suggestion of Mr. Wm. B. Wilson to aid Mr. Cohen in his reply to the Buffalo Society.

[SAML. K. GEORGE.]

I presume the original bust, of which ours is but a cast, must be within your reach at or near Buffalo.

If not, and you desire a photograph of it, it will give me pleasure to have it made for you.

Very truly yours,

MENDES COHEN,
Corresponding Secretary.

FROM SHELDON T. VIELE.

ANDREW LANGDON, *Esq., President Buffalo Historical Society:*

MY DEAR SIR: I have few personal recollections of President Fillmore that would be interesting to those who did not know him. He was for many years the most prominent figure in Buffalo, conspicuous in every way, and all who knew him will remember his dignity and urbanity.

My first boyish recollection of him is of a time when I was home on a vacation and taken as a great treat to a club meeting of the then newly-organized Historical Society. It was the custom for the members of the society to meet at the houses of its members at stated periods during the winter and have papers read before them on various historical subjects. On this occasion the meeting was at the house of Col. Bird, the subject was the Erie Canal, and the speaker was Prof. Evans, then of Hamilton College, but previously of Buffalo. President Fillmore presided, as he did at almost all meetings held in Buffalo at that time. During the course of the paper the speaker described the efforts of Governor Clinton to obtain some foreign engineers for the preliminary work, and stated that owing to the failure of his efforts the canal had to be "built by native genius." Mr. Fillmore not quite catching the sentence, here interrupted by asking in rather a peremptory manner, "Who did you say built the canal?" and the professor was obliged to explain that he said it was "built by native genius." The misunderstanding between the two, one speaking in a general way, while the other was seeking specific information, rather impressed my youthful observation.

There was one point in his character that perhaps may be worth noting; it was his strict and punctilious attention to all social requirements. He and Mrs. Fillmore were careful to accept all social invitations which it was possible for them to attend, and they always

appeared among the first guests, remained a reasonable time and left at rather an early hour.

In the very early seventies we had for several winters a social club composed in about equal numbers of the older members of society, the young married people and the young people. This club met at the houses of the different members, and had informal parties which began early and broke up at a comparatively early hour. At least one of these meetings was held at President Fillmore's, and he and his wife were almost always present. His courtesy and attention to his wife were always marked, and some of us can remember more than once seeing him kneel before his wife and carefully adjust her overshoes on their way to their carriage. It used to be said by some of the older people that Queen Victoria had remarked when Mr. Fillmore was first presented to her that his manners were the most courtly and elegant of any American who had ever been presented to her.

I am sorry to say that it used to be a subject of some quiet amusement among the young people to see the number of busts and portraits of the ex-President which were scattered through his house, and which Mrs. Fillmore, with natural pride, used to ask us to admire.

These are all trivial details, but they may serve to give an impression of one side of his character which would be lost in any survey of his achievements and life work.

Yours very truly,

SHELDON T. VIELE.

FROM NELSON K. HOPKINS.

BUFFALO, N. Y., December 7, 1898.

ANDREW LANGDON, *President Buffalo Historical Society:*

MY DEAR SIR: It was my privilege for many years to enjoy a pleasant acquaintance with the Hon. Millard Fillmore. At one time we were associated as trustees of the Grosvenor Library, and I knew him as a friend and neighbor. In appearance Mr. Fillmore was a tall, fine looking and dignified gentleman. In conversation he was most genial and entertaining, and his natural grace of manner was ever apparent.

Mr. Fillmore has many times recounted to me incidents of his early life. He was in every sense of the word a self-made man; up to his early manhood his education was of the most limited, and he had to rely entirely upon his own efforts, his father having met reverses to such an extent that the family was almost in actual want, yet within thirty years from that time Millard Fillmore occupied the highest position in the gift of man.

Before his election as Vice-President, Mr. Fillmore had served, with credit, several terms as a member of the New York State Legislature, and from 1830 to 1842 he represented us in Congress almost continuously. In 1847 he was elected State Comptroller; this was the first time that office had been filled by popular vote, and Mr. Fillmore resigned shortly thereafter to become Vice-President under

old Gen. Taylor, who died within a few months, and Mr. Fillmore became President of the United States.

Mr. Fillmore was a man of rare integrity and of decided opinions, and once his mind was made up as to his duty, no power on earth could swerve him from it, and whatever the wisdom of his course as President may have been, no one has ever doubted his patriotism or that he did his full duty, faithfully as he saw it.

Very truly yours,

NELSON K. HOPKINS.

FROM MISS LUCY LORD.

President Fillmore was one of the founders of the Buffalo Society for the Protection of Animals, and contributed generously to its support.

I now recall an incident of President Fillmore's boyhood days as related by himself once at one of the meetings of our society. "When I was a thoughtless boy," said Mr. Fillmore, "I took the life of a mother bird. I remember my father was greatly grieved, and said, 'Millard, do you realize what you have done? You have taken the life of a mother, and have left her children to die of starvation in the nest. How would you like to have a great giant come along and kill your father and mother and leave you alone without food or care?' My father's rebuke sank so deeply into my heart that since that day I never have taken the life of a living creature."

APPENDIX B

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held in its rooms on the evening of January 8th, 1907. Andrew Langdon, President, in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved. On motion, Mr. Stringer was appointed Secretary *pro-tem.*

On motion, Andrew Langdon, Frank H. Severance, George Alfred Stringer, James Sweeney and O. P. Letchworth were nominated as Trustees for the ensuing four years. There being no other nominations, the secretary was instructed to cast the ballot, which he did, declaring the above-named persons to be unanimously elected for the term specified.

The report of the treasurer was read, and on motion, ordered received and placed on record.

In the enforced absence of Secretary Severance, caused by illness, a preliminary report of the work of the Society during the past year was prepared by Mrs. Anna A. Andrews and Miss Helen F. Moffat, of the Society's staff, and presented to the meeting. Informal and interesting remarks were made by President Langdon, Senator Hill, Mr. George D. Emerson and William G. Justice.

On motion, adjourned.

GEORGE ALFRED STRINGER,
Sec'y pro-tem.

ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Pursuant to statute, a meeting of the Board of Managers, Buffalo Historical Society, was held on the 10th of January, 1907, at the office of Wilson & Smith, Mutual Life Building.

Members present—Andrew Langdon, J. J. McWilliams, J. N. Larned, G. Barrett Rich, James Sweeney, George A. Stringer, Charles R. Wilson, Robert W. Day and Dr. A. H. Briggs. On motion, Mr. J. N. Larned was called to the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

Mr. McWilliams moved that the entire proceedings of the last monthly board meeting be ratified, there not being a quorum present on that occasion. Seconded by Mr. Rich, and carried.

Mr. McWilliams moved that Andrew Langdon be nominated for President, and that the secretary cast the ballot. Seconded. The secretary announced that the ballot was cast as directed, and Mr. Langdon was declared elected President.

On motion of Mr. Rich, the secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for Hon. Henry W. Hill as Vice-President. Ballot cast and Mr. Hill declared elected. Mr. Rich then moved that one ballot be cast by the secretary for Frank H. Severance as Secretary and Treasurer. Ballot cast and Mr. Severance duly elected.

On motion, adjourned.

GEORGE ALFRED STRINGER,
Sec'y pro-tem.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

For the year ending January 8, 1907.

The officers and members of the Buffalo Historical Society may be assured at the outset that, all things considered, this institution was never in a more flourishing condition. Slowly but certainly its field of usefulness is more clearly seen, and its equipment for work that is worth while, improves.

Building. Last February, the Board of Managers felt that the need of repairs and betterments on the building warranted them in asking from the City of Buffalo a specific appropriation for such work. A portion of the sum asked for—all the items being based on contractors' estimates for the work—was allowed in the annual estimates and approved by the Common Council and Mayor. As soon as these funds were available, some contracts were let. Most of the work to be undertaken relates to the basement. For the greater protection of the building the secretary was authorized to contract for suitable iron grill-work as a protection for all basement windows and doors. The contract was let in July, but the year has closed before the work is accomplished; the contractors allege that the long-continued strike of iron-workers makes its completion even now a matter of uncertainty.

In August the secretary went abroad, and further repair-work and improvements were deferred until his return. An illness of some weeks' duration, still further prevented him from taking up

the matter. At the close of the year, however, contracts are let and work under way for finishing a large room at the west end of the basement. This room was left by the New York State Commission, when they turned the building over to the Historical Society, in an unfinished condition, without woodwork or even plaster on the walls and columns. It is one of the best-lighted and pleasantest rooms in the building; it is to be shelved and provided with suitable racks for bound newspapers and for the society's valuable collection of maps.

Other work contemplated, and to be undertaken, it is expected, early in 1907, includes the replacing of cement and plaster baseboards, mouldings, etc., with marble or other durable material; the improvement of the drains and toilet-rooms; and the resetting of marble in the piers, platform and approaches of the south portico, with necessary modification of the rooms beneath. This portion of the building is not structurally adapted to the needs and purposes of the society. Whether or no it can be utilized, is uncertain; but for the preservation of the building, an extensive overhauling is imperative. The immediate attention of the Board is most urgently directed to this matter.

Still another part of the building which sooner or later must receive attention—and the sooner the better—is the cornice. The present metal construction should be replaced by marble. An estimate secured on this work put its cost at $7000, and this amount was included in the requisition made on the city; but the item was not allowed. It is work that must be done, and the longer it is postponed the more it will cost, and the greater the liability of the building to irreparable injury.

The lecture-hall has been cleaned and redecorated. The decoration of the ceilings of the middle court and museums, recommended in my report a year ago, has not been undertaken. While not urgent, the beauty of the interior will be enhanced if this work is judiciously done.

Membership. The total membership of the society is 757, divided as follows: Patron, 1; honorary, 7; life, 130; resident (or annual), 491; corresponding, 128. There has been a good increase in the number of paying members. The list of corresponding members tends constantly to shorten, by the death of members. The present policy is to make the relation of corresponding member a real and substantial honor, implying mutual profit both to the member and the society; and not, as in many cases heretofore, the emptiest of all honors, names having in some instances been carried on the society's list for years, unknown to the person himself, or perhaps retained for years after his death. The society desires corresponding members, but it desires to sustain active and real "corresponding" relations with them. Even a few, in this sense, are a greater source of strength to the society than a long list of names with no actual existing relations to the society.

The list of life members should be much longer. Many Buffalo familes, not now represented, should hold at least one life membership. The income which the society receives from such memberships goes into its permanent fund, which cannot be drawn on for current

expenses. It is in fact, the society's only substitute for an endowment, and should be greatly increased.

Losses from the membership by death during 1906 were as follows:

Feb. 8. Peter J. Ferris, resident member.
" 20. Samuel V. Parsons, resident member.
Mar. 6. Nathaniel Rochester, resident member.
" 14. John Adams Bolen, Springfield, Mass.; corresponding member.
" 16. Eugene Richard White, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; corresponding member.
Apr. 2. Frederick A. Jewett, resident member.
" 5. Dexter P. Rumsey, life member.
" 11. George B. Hibbard, life member.
" 30. George May Elwood, Rochester, N. Y.; corresponding member.
May 20. Albert H. Almy, resident member.
" 31. Pendennis White, life member.
Jun. 1. Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, life member.
" 7. James P. Wood, resident member.
Jul. 8. Henry L. Elmendorf, resident member.
Sep. 13. Daniel O'Day, life member.
" 20. H. C. Harrower, resident member.
Dec. 1. Clinton R. Berry, resident member.
" 9. William Blake Trask, Dorchester, Mass.; corresponding member.
" 11. Robert Palen, resident member.
" 13. Major George H. Stowits, life member.
" 13. Robert H. Williams, resident member.
" 18. Mrs. Dennis Bowen, resident member.

Several of the above-named, had long sustained pleasant and helpful relations with the society. The names of Peter J. Ferris, Dexter P. Rumsey, Clinton R. Berry, George B. Hibbard, Major George H. Stowits, had been on the membership books for many years. Mr. Hibbard had been a member for forty-three years.

Library. The accessions during 1906 were: By purchase, 119 volumes; by gift and exchange, 590 volumes. The buying is almost wholly confined to books relating to the history of Western New York or to subjects such as inland transportation, lake and canal history, War of 1812, and other topics which are of special local interest as well as of general importance. An effort is made, also, to collect the worthy works of Buffalo writers, and Buffalo-printed books. The total number of volumes catalogued, Dec. 31, 1906, was 16,395. The catalogue and accession work, and in general the attendance on visitors using the library, continues to be faithfully performed by Mrs. Anna A. Andrews.

Lady Virginia Meux of Theobald's Park, London, has added to her former gifts to the library two folio volumes, containing translation, facsimiles and exposition of Ethiopic texts, from original MSS. in the British Museum, entitled "The Life and Miracles of Takla Haymanot." The volumes are illustrated with many repro-

ductions of ancient illuminations, in colors. Lady Meux has repeatedly shown her helpful interest in our society by gifts of her costly publications, devoted to the elucidation of ancient manuscripts.

Other donors of books during the year were: Mrs. C. H. Woodruff, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Andrew Langdon, J. N. Larned, Walter J. Shepard, Henry W. Box, Dr. S. A. Freeman, Hamilton Ward, Wm. Wippert, Hon. D. S. Alexander, David Fellows More, Frank H. Severance, Mrs. E. C. Hawks, Geo. A. Ricker, Geo. D. Emerson, Carleton Sprague, Edward C. Randall, Wm. A. Bird, Mrs. C. C. Wyckoff, George A. Stringer, O. K. Fitzsimmons, Hon. Matt Endres, Rt. Rev. Charles H. Colton, Bishop of Buffalo, Henry R. Howland, Mathias Rohr, Hon. Robert L. Cox; Bruce Cornwall, San Francisco; Ellen Jarrett, Dunedin, New Zealand; Mrs. F. W. Abbott, Ogdensburg, N. Y.

The use of the library by the public during the year has been perhaps more than in former years, but we would be glad to have many more persons avail themselves of our facilities. This is, and probably will remain, a library for the specialist. We are fairly well equipped for genealogical work, and are ready to purchase (if procurable at reasonable price) any works in this field of study which are specially called for. The indiscriminate accumulation of family histories, even had the society unlimited means, is not regarded as advisable.

The library is particularly strong in books relating to the War of 1812 and the Civil War, to various phases of the development of the commerce of the Great Lakes, the history of New York State canals, and in general, to whatever relates to Western New York and adjacent regions. One especially valuable collection includes several hundred volumes of travels, containing descriptions of Niagara Falls, and of Buffalo in its early days, by travelers of many nationalities. Many exceedingly rare books are included in this collection.

There has also been added to the library during the year past an interesting and valuable collection of books on Indian captivities and related subjects. Many of these are a part of our local history. The collection as a whole is probably unrivaled in this part of the country, and forms a notable addition to the Historical Society library.

Miscellaneous gifts. The most notable single gift during the year was the pair of antique bronze candelabra, of 16th century Italian workmanship, presented by President Langdon. An antique bronze and marble bust of Nero was also given to the society by Mr. Langdon. Oil portraits were received, as follows: Rt. Rev. John Timon, first Bishop of Buffalo, from Miss Isabel McKenna; Hon. Edgar B. Jewett, from himself; Dennis Bowen, the gift of Mrs. Bowen; Gen. and Mrs. D. D. Bidwell, gift of Mrs. Sarah Bidwell Gunnison, Washington; Robert Burns, the poet (said to be from life), gift of Mrs. C. C. Wyckoff, in the name of her late husband.

Other framed portraits (crayon, photograph, etc.) were received as follows: Mr. and Mrs. Henry T. Gillet, from their daughter Mrs. G. J. Guenther, New York City; Capt. James Maginnis, gift of his daughter Mrs. E. A. Vickery; Mr. and Mrs. Hezekiah A.

Salisbury, gift of Miss Marietta Salisbury; Bradley D. Rogers, gift of Mrs. D. Clark Ralph; Dr. S. W. Wetmore, gift of Mrs. Wetmore.

A complete list of all additions to the museum and portrait collection, is kept. Among the articles received during 1906 of peculiar value or interest, may be mentioned the following:

Original MS. map, one of three original MS. drafts, of lands to be taken for the New York State Reservation at Niagara Falls, drawn from Thomas Evershed's survey, 1883; the map is some three and a half by five feet in size, and of much historical interest. It was presented, nicely framed, by Mr. Edward H. Movius of New York.

Plaster bust of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the gift of the sculptor, Mr. Richard E. Brooks of Paris.

Framed engraving: "Shakespeare and his friends," gift of Mr. Lewis J. Bennett.

Framed engraving: "President Lincoln at the White House"—East Room reception, Civil War period, gift of Mr. R. Gerrard.

Collection of small Aztec images from the pyramid of Cholula, Mexico, gift of Mr. E. Judd Vishion.

Bottle of Madeira wine given to Millard Fillmore by Commodore Perry, gift of Mr. Deshler Welch.

Framed engraving: "The Death of Webster," gift of Mr. Joseph P. Dudley.

Framed engraving: "Henry Clay addressing the U. S. Senate," gift of Mrs. J. H. Parker.

Framed engraving of Niagara Falls, after drawing by Lt. Pierie, 1768, gift of Mrs. E. C. W. O'Brien.

Original MS. register of the Cattaraugus Mission Church, in the handwriting of the Rev. Asher Wright, 1827-1848; gift of Mr. Henry R. Howland.

Old Indian stone mill, gift of Mr. John C. Glenny.

Piece of oak ribs and original iron spikes from the U. S. battleship Constitution, gift of Mr. W. H. Scott.

First semi-porcelain tableware made in Buffalo, five pieces, gift of the Buffalo Pottery Co.

An interesting collection of articles from the Philippines has been put on exhibition in the Historical building by Mrs. H. St. John.

Research work. The Secretary devoted a part of the time included in his leave of absence, to research work in the Government archives of Canada, England and France. The special quest was for maps of the Niagara region, and for plans of Fort Niagara and other early constructions of the French or British in the region of the lower lakes. Manuscripts of historical value, bearing on the history of this region, were also sought. In former years, much material of this character has been gathered by the Secretary. Through the assistance of Dr. Arthur Doughty, Dominion Archivist at Ottawa, the ready coöperation of M. Victor Tantet of the archives office in Paris, was had. Photographic and other copies of many maps and plans relating to the Niagara region, were secured; some in Paris, others from the British Museum and Public Record Office, London. A considerable number of manuscripts, relating to the

French and British occupancy of this region, were also transcribed for the society; so that we are now in possession of much valuable and as yet unpublished material relating to the early history of the Niagara region, Western New York and the lower lakes. [Lists of these maps, MSS., etc., prepared as a part of this report, are omitted from the present publication. They will later be printed as part of a fuller report of the historical material in the possession of the society.]

Publications. During the year the society has issued volume nine of its Publications series. It has been well received by members, by sister societies and students of history generally. The Secretary has now in preparation the speeches and miscellaneous writings of Millard Fillmore, to whom, as a founder and its first president, and one of its most helpful friends, the Buffalo Historical Society owes this recognition.

Entertainments. The following lectures and other gatherings have been held at the Historical building, season of 1906-07:

MEMBERS' MEETINGS.

1906.

Dec. 4. Reception: Address by President Langdon on "Bronze Work in Art and History," with presentation of two antique Italian bronze candelabra to the society. Music by Misses Ruth Lewis and Lillian Hawley, Messrs. Dr. Frederick C. Busch and LeBaron.

" 13. Lecture: "The Pilgrims in Holland and the Delfshaven Memorial of 1906," by Wm. Elliot Griffis, D. D., LL. D.

1907.

Jan. 29. Lecture: "Pickwick Illustrated," by Mr. E. S. Williamson of Toronto.

Feb. 28. Lecture: "The Canals of the State of New York," by Hon. George Clinton.

Mar. 15. Illustrated lecture: "The Story of Letchworth Park," (Glen Iris), with sketch of Hon. Wm. P. Letchworth, by Henry R. Howland.

Oct. 17. Hiawatha recital by Miss Mabel Powers of Rochester; Miss Mary Harrison of Rochester, pianist.

Dec. 13. Recital of Dickens' "Christmas Carols," by Mr. E. S. Williamson of Toronto; Mr. Edward F. Haendiges of Buffalo, pianist.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES.

1906.

Nov. 18. "The Panama Canal and the Tropics," by Hon. W. Francis Newell, former U. S. Consul to Nicaragua.

" 25. A Thanksgiving recital; reading by Allen E. Day.

Dec. 2. "The Water Question," by Millard F. Bowen.

" 9. "The U. S. Parcels Post," by James L. Cowles of Boston, Secretary-Treasurer of the Postal Progress League.

1906.

Dec. 16. "History-making in New York State—some public measures awaiting the next Legislature," by Hon. Henry W. Hill.

(Lectures interrupted by Secretary's sickness.)

1907.

Feb. 10. "Lincoln," by Hon. William Francis Newell.

" 24. "The New Reading and the New Service," by Miss Elizabeth Hirshfield.

Mar. 3. "The Story of 'Old Ironsides,'" with relics from the U. S. frigate Constitution, by Frank H. Severance.

" 10. "My Work in Labrador," by Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell.

" 17. "The Steamboat on the Lakes," by James Findlay.

Apr. 7. "With the Gypsies in Spain," by Frank H. Severance.

" 14. "Conditions of Child Labor in Buffalo," by Miss Mabel Gillespie.

" 21. "The last twelve days of fighting between the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia, as seen by a private," by J. W. Willis.

" 28. "Grant, the Soldier," by George D. Emerson.

May 5. "A Queer Corner of Africa—What I saw in Tangier," by Frank H. Severance.

" 12. Music recital: Messrs. George Szag and Dana Hellings, violin; Miss Ethel Ackley, piano.

" 19. "My Life Among the Indians," by Cary W. Hartman.

" 26. "The Yakima Valley and Puget Sound Country," by Dr. George E. Fell.

Oct. 13. "Oliver Wendell Holmes," by the secretary; with exhibition of bust of the poet, given by the sculptor, Richard Brooks.

" 20. "The Municipal League of Buffalo," by Robert S. Binkerd, secretary of the league.

" 27. "Honolulu, the Paradise of the Pacific," by Mrs. George W. Townsend.

OTHER MEETINGS AT HISTORICAL BUILDING.

1907.

Mar. 19. Musicale, Sunshine Society.

Jun. 21. Commencement exercises, North Park School (No. 21).

Sep. 11-14. Annual convention, American Social Science Association.

" 17-18. Annual convention, New York State Historical Association.

" 25-26. Annual meeting, Medical Society, State of New York, 8th Judicial District.

APPENDIX C

MEMBERSHIP OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PATRONS

(This class was established for those who contribute $2500 or upwards to the Society.)

Langdon, Andrew

*Smith, Hon. James M.

HONORARY MEMBERS

(Honorary membership is bestowed upon non-residents of Buffalo, in recognition of special services. Purely complimentary, yielding no revenue.)

Astor, Hon. William W.	Cliveden, Taplow, Eng.
Cleveland, Hon. Grover	Princeton, N. J.
Dandy, Gen. George B.	Buffalo, N. Y.
Hill, Hon. David B.	Albany, N. Y.
Howard, Gen. Oliver Otis	Burlington, Vt.
Stone, William L.	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Wilson, Gen. Jas. Grant	New York City.

LIFE MEMBERS

(Dues $100. No further payments or assessments of any kind. All the Society Publications and privileges free to life members.)

Albright, John J.
Alexander, Hon. DeA. S.
Alward, Mrs. Emily B.
Amos, Jacob
Avery, Trueman G.
Bennett, Lewis J.
Bigelow, Mrs. Maria S.
Bishop, Hon. Charles F.
Bleistein, George
Blocher, John
Bolin, Hon. Gaius C.
Box, Henry W.
Brady, Gilbert
Briggs, Horace
Burrows, George E.
Cady, F. L. A.
Cary, George
Clarke, Mrs. Sarah Hazard
Clement, Stephen M.
Collins, Guy
Cornwell, William C.
Crawford, William J.
Daniels, Mrs. Chas.
Day, Robert W.

* Deceased.

Dunbar, George H.
Dunstan, George H.
Eames, Edward W.
Eastman, Mrs. Frank F.
Eisele, Edward A.
Elias, Abraham J.
Farnham, A. M.
Farwell, Henry D.
Field, Gen. George S.
Forman, George V.
Franchot, Hon. N. V. V.
Fullerton, Henry F., M. D.
Gavin, Joseph E.
Gerrans, Henry M.
Glenny, Mrs. John C.
Gowans, John
Graves, Gen. John C.
Greiner, Fred
Hamersley, Andrew S.
Hawley, Edward S.
Hawley, Miss Mary M.
Hayes, Charles E.
Hayes, Edmund
Hayes, George B.
Hazard, Archibald M.
Hill, Hon. Henry W.
Hodge, Charles J.
Holland, Nelson
Holmes, Morris G.
Hotchkiss, William H.
Howard, George R.
Hughes, John
Hutchinson, E. H.
Jefferson, Thomas M.
Jones, Mrs. Joseph T.
Kellogg, Spencer
Knowlton, Charles B., M. D.
Knox, S. H.
Koerner, H. T.
Laney, John I.
Lapp, James G.
Larkin, John D.
Larned, J. N.
Lautz, William
Laverack, George E.
Letchworth, Josiah
Letchworth, Hon. William P.
Lewis, Mrs. George H.
Locke, Franklin D.
Lockwood, Millington
McWilliams, John J.
Machwirth, Emil
Maltby, George W.
Manchester, Miss Grace
Marshall, Charles D.
Mathews, George B.
Meech, Henry L.
Michael, Isadore
Miller, Charles W.
Mills, William I.
Morse, David R.
Mott, John T.
Newhall, Daniel E.
Newman, John B.
Newman, William H. H.
North, Charles J.
Norton, N. W.
Olmstead, William D.
Ough, Richard A.
Patton, L. H.
Paul, Peter
Penfold, Mrs. Frank C.
Peterson, Jesse
Prentiss, J. I.
Reed, Horace
Rew, Esbon B.
Rew, Henry C.
Rice, Edward R.
Rogers, William A.
Sellstedt, L. G.
Severance, Frank H.
Severance, Mrs. Frank H.
Sidway, Franklin
Silver, D. M.
Snow, Mrs. Julia F.
Spaulding, Edward R.
Spaulding, Samuel S.
Steinway, Charles H.
Steinway, Fred T.
Stern, Leopold
Stetson, N.
Strickland, Edward D.
Stringer, George A.
Sweeney, James
Thomas, E. R.
Tillinghast, James W.
Tretbar, Charles F.
Urban, George, Jr.
Vedder, Harrison N.
Walbridge, Harry
Watson, Mrs. S. V. R.
White, Charles H.
White, George W.
Whitney, Elmar H.
Wicks, William S.
Wilber, Frank B.
Wilkeson, Samuel H.
Williams, George L.
Williams, Gibson T.
Williams, H. F.
Wilson, Walter T.
Yost, George E.
Ziegele, Albert
Ziegler, Henry

ANNUAL MEMBERS

(Dues $5 a year. Publications free.)

Aaron, Rev. Israel
Adam, James N.
Adams, John C.
Adams, William H., Jr.
Aird, A. F.
Alden, Carlos C.
Allen, Henry F.
Alvord, Charles P.

Anderson, H. G.
Andrews, W. H.
Andrus, Leroy
Ash, James
Aspinwall, Edward P.
Atherton, Fisher C.
Auman, Brig.-Gen. William
Avery, Charles H.
Avery, Mrs. Trueman G.
Babcock, Frank A.
Babcock, Louis L.
Baker, Howard H.
Ballou, F. A.
Ballou, Mrs. F. A.
Bartlett, Eugene M.
Bartlett, G. Hunter
Beach, Howard D.
Becker, Alfred L.
Beecher, James C.
Bender, Miss Ida C., M. D.
Benedict, A. L., M. D.
Bennett, Leslie J.
Benson, George W.
Bethune, Mrs. Louise
Bidwell, Mrs. E. C.
Bigelow, Bayard
Bingham, Charles F.
Bingham, George C.
Bingham, Henry H., M. D.
Bird, Miss Grace E.
Bird, William N. D.
Birge, George K.
Bissell, Frederick O.
Bissell, Herbert P.
Bliss, Mrs. Frank H.
Blood, E. N.
Bonnar, John D., M. D.
Boxall, George H.
Brady, Edward L.
Bray, Rev. James B.
Briggs, Albert H., M. D.
Brinkworth, C. E.
Broadhead, John R.
Bronson, Levi
Brown, E. C.
Brown, Mrs. Elizabeth A.
Brown, Henry B.
Brown, Henry M.
Brown, Raymond F.
Brown, Walter L.
Budd, T. Augustus
Buell, Madison
Buffalo Club
Bull, Alexander T., M. D.
Bull, Gen. William S.
Burt, Henry W.
Busch, Frederick C., M. D.
Bush, John W.
Bush, Mrs. John W.
Bush, Myron P.
Bushman, Willard T.
Bushnell, Clarence M.
Butler, Charles S., D. D. S.
Buttolph, Harry T.
Byrne, Col. John
Byrne, Mrs. John
Cadwallader, Charles S.
Camehl, George H.
Cant, Andrew
Carey, Martin
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